Contemporary Japanese Tea Ceremony and its Collective Creativity

Multiple Tea-worlds of Kanazawa City as Venues of Cultural Production

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Chapter1: Introduction

Ask tea masters, "What is the (Japanese) Tea Ceremony?" Then you will hear something nice to your ears: The Tea Ceremony is "the essence of Japanese culture," "a way of self-accomplishment," or just simply "serving and drinking a bowl of tea." The famous expression by Okakura Tenshin notes, Tea is "a religion of aestheticism" (Okakura 1994: 219). Any kind of explanation does not enable you to illustrate what the Tea Ceremony is actually like. Sooner or later, however, once you enter the world of Tea Ceremony, you would realize that there are a plenty of contradiction between ideal and reality.

What surprised me the most during my research on tea practitioners is that they are quite serious about their tea activity. Though it might sound like a naïve and disrespectful comment to tea practitioners, because, to put it simply, a tea ceremony (*chakai*) is a systematic procedure of serving and drinking whipped *matcha* tea. My prior question arose from their argument and criticism on their tea ceremony experiences. Indeed, the manners and procedures to serve and drink tea have been developed and unified through time by the rigid hierarchical teaching system of each school;[1] *Iemoto*, the head of each school, draws his/her authority from his/her linage as a genuine successor of the tradition, and distributes his/her taste for—and knowledge of—tea throughout the world to tea practitioners who belong to his/her school. But their activity and experience of Tea Ceremony is not singular as such, nor static and conventional; participants are not just following a prescribed program like machines. What I have observed, and participated in,

[1] For more detail on the *Iemoto* system, see Surak 2013, Chapter 3.

are lively human practices, in which participants have fun, and which they discuss, or even criticize and complain about.

But the focus on such cognitive and emotional aspects of Tea Ceremony is quite rare: Tea scholars have rarely dealt with them as their subjects of academic study. The major concern of tea studies has mostly been about elucidating "the essence" of Tea Ceremony through studying the history of the development of Tea Ceremony, "artworks" related, and philosophy of it. Instead of casting an analytic scope on the tea activities by lay participants, they have lamented on the status quo of the Tea Ceremony that had become far from "the essence" of Tea Ceremony.

Eschewing such essentialistic viewpoint ignoring the actual practice by participants, this dissertation deals with the Japanese Tea Ceremony (*Sa/Chadō*)[2] as processes and venues of cultural production practiced by participants living today. Their tea activities are generated by, and reflexively generate, the multiple worlds of tea, where they can achieve a mutual entertainment—cognitive and emotional experiences of Tea Ceremony. Therefore, I focus not on history, aesthetics, and philosophy of the Tea Ceremony per se, which tea participants and scholars have conventionally discussed as a kind of doctrinal belief of tea, but on their actual practice of Tea Ceremony.

Tea scholars often speak of the Tea Ceremony by relating it with art. The lexicons of Tea Ceremony such as *wabi* and *sabi* have become distinctive aesthetics of Japanese

[2] There are various ways to refer to this activity in Japanese, such as *sadō*, *chadō*, *chanoyu*, or just *cha*. In this dissertation, capitalized "Tea Ceremony" signifies the whole package of activities involved in the Japanese Tea Ceremony, and lower-case "tea ceremony" means an event of tea-serving-and-drinking.

culture.[3] Art museums feature "arts of Tea" displaying old and famous tea utensils.[4] Nevertheless, a current leading tea scholar, Isao Kumakura pointed out that the Tea Ceremony "failed" to transform itself into a form of art in the modern ages when the Tea Ceremony was facing a severe decline due to the big social change—the Meiji Reconstruction.

> The tea ceremony has been reborn today as a *shumi*, or hobby, a praiseworthy transformation that has saved it from extinction. Nevertheless, no matter how hard Okakura Tenshin campaigned for its inclusion, it was not able to join the ranks of art—proof that *chanoyu* exists only on the margins of the Western conception of art. (Kumakura 2012: 136)[5]

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[3] For example, Shigeki Iwai analyzed how the terms, *wabi* and *sabi,* have come to represent the essence of the Tea Ceremony in an article titled "The Formation of 'Japanese' aesthetic concepts (2): When has the Tea Ceremony become synonymous with 'wabi' and 'sabi'?" (2006)

[4] Tokyo National Museum held an exhibition titled "*Chanoyu* Exhibition"（茶の湯展）in 2017. They explained the exhibition that "This major exhibition will focus on how *the arts of the tea ceremony* evolved from the Muromachi period to modernity [italics added]." (*Chanoyu* - The Arts of Tea Ceremony, The Essence of Japan. Retrieved from http://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=1828&lang=en)

[5] This citation is preceded by the following sentences. "(S)ince Japan's modernization followed the Western model, suki, based as it was on individual taste, rather than the preferences of the newly emergent citizenry, was becoming irrelevant. There were, in fact, only two choices open to all arts, not just chanoyu, which had been sources of pleasure in the Edo period: transform or to disappear forever. Many of those arts did change, in a way that allowed them to conform to the academy system. Genres were defined by members of the art academies according to categories developed in the West, and thus certain types of art, beginning with chanoyu and ikebana were left out. The result was not only that tea ceremony and flower arranging failed to be classified as arts, but since they then did not fit into the framework of the Law for Protection of Cultural Properties, masters of these arts were not designated as Living National Treasures (important intangible cultural assets)." (Kumakura 2012: 136)

The Western conception of art, which Kumakura refers to, has been a target of deconstruction as a theoretical enemy to be superseded for anthropologists and sociologists studying art and art-like in the recent decades (e.g., Danto 1964; Dickie 1974; Bourdieu 1984; Marcus and Myers 1995). In their respect, art can never be autonomous by itself in the name of beauty, but a system of productions of value or reproduction of social status, constructed in the modern Western society. Moreover, from another perspective, Alfred Gell developed an intriguing theory about art-objects as mediators of social agency: an object functions as artwork when its social relationship with other actors is art-like. Though Gell did not specify what art-like means, his attempt at understanding art from social relations somewhat overlaps with Kumakura's understanding of *chanoyu*.

Comparing the Tea Ceremony and "Western" art, Kumakura distinguishes their characteristics as follows. "Unlike artworks in general, in *chanoyu*, artists and appreciators, and actors and audiences are never independent but supplement and influence one another for the completion of *chanoyu*" (Kumakura 2012: 35). He explains, the enjoyment of Tea Ceremony lies in "how to design the gap (*suki*) between person and person, person and thing, and among things" (Kumakura 2012: 35). His remark implies that an achievement of a tea ceremony is quite relational. Instead of emphasizing the difference between the Tea Ceremony and art in comparison, however, as the precedent anthropological and sociological studies on art have blurred the boundary between art and other creations and perception of them, I would like to regard both as human activities that engender cognitive and emotional response.

Therefore, my principal question in this dissertation should be "how" question, unlike "what" question which precedent tea scholars have pursued. The aim of this dissertation is to elucidate how the enactment of a tea ceremony, which is a temporary event made up

of both human and non-human actors, serves to generate the multiple worlds of tea, and vice versa. The analysis of the reciprocal relationship between tea activities and tea-worlds may contribute to breaking a spell of tea saints, like Rikyū, and to understanding collective creativity that generates a tea ceremony as an event.

The History of Tea Studies in Japan

The Tea Ceremony has been an intriguing subject of academic study since the Meiji period onward. Roughly speaking, such studies can be classified into two slightly different arenas: study of the Tea Ceremony before the Meiji period, and the Meiji period onward. The former mainly considers the development of Tea Ceremony itself and the latter deals with how the current situation of Tea Ceremony has been constructed.

Tea masters including *iemoto*, and scholars in the Meiji period intentionally treated the Tea Ceremony as an academic subject of study in the course of the revival of Tea Ceremony from its decline in the beginning of Meiji period. For example, Tanaka Senshō, who established Tea Ceremony Society of Japan (*Dai-Nippon Chadō Gakkai*) in 1898, claimed that tea ceremony is Japanese "nationality/tradition" (*kokusui*) to be preserved for the sake of the nation-state. Two years later he started a new magazine called *Sadō-gaku Shi* (Tea Ceremony Studies Journal) written in spoken language. Tanaka considered that tea ceremony is not "play" but a subject of study, must be studied freely from the restraint of the secrecy prevailing in every school of tea ceremony in order to revive it in the modern ages. In particular, he emphasized spiritual aspect of tea ceremony through explaining the bond between tea ceremony and Zen Buddhism. Although *Sadō-gaku Shi* ceased its publication after couple of issues, it surely encouraged schools of tea ceremony

to publish their own magazine such as *Ura no Tomaya* (Textbook of the Ura Senke School of Tea Ceremony) and *Kon'nichian Geppō* (Monthly Journal of the Ura Senke School), which tried to reveal their manners and philosophy to some extent that had been kept secret to outsiders. (Kumakura 2013: 7–8; Tanaka 2003: 31–34)

Their approach to tea studies has been mostly historic: about the history of the development of Tea Ceremony and its philosophy, legendary tea masters, famous utensils, and esoteric books on Tea Ceremony.[6] By considering these subjects, they have been trying to grasp the essence of Tea Ceremony, exactly as stated by Hidetaka Tanaka, a tea scholar and the current head of *Dai-Nippon Chadō Gakkai*, "studying Tea Ceremony is synonymous with asking 'what is Tea Ceremony'" (Tanaka 2013: 306).

Regarding the Tea Ceremony from the Meiji period onward, the subject of analysis is how such studies have contributed to constructing the status of the Tea Ceremony: how their discourse reinvented the Japanese Tea Ceremony as a national tradition (Kumakura 1980; Tanaka 2007). For example, Tanaka intentionally employed the perspectives of invented tradition (Hobsbawm 1983) and imagined communities (Anderson 1991) in order to elucidate how publications by tea connoisseurs and scholars including *Iemoto* shaped the current recognition of the Tea Ceremony in the modern age.

In these studies, nationalism was one of the key factors in the revival of the Tea Ceremony in the Meiji period onward. In the process of the revival of the Tea Ceremony under the uprising of nationalism in the Meiji period, tea connoisseurs and scholars tried to re-contextualize the Tea Ceremony into the modern context. One example is considering the tea utensils as works of art, a newly introduced concept from western

[6] The contents of *Sadō-gaku Taikei* (A Series of Tea Studies) (1999–2001) represents their scope of study on Tea Ceremony and tea culture very well.

countries in the modern age. A cultural activity, which was then criticized as old and pre-modern, became a cradle of modernity of Japan.[7] Subsequently, legendary founders of the tea ceremony, such as Senno Rikyū, came to be seen as artists who established the aesthetics of tea.

Recent studies on the relationship between the Tea Ceremony and art argues that tea utensils were included in the category of art in the modern age (Yoda 2013). Today, indeed, tea utensils appear in Japanese art history as representative of a mode of art, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Arakawa 2013). The basis for labeling these as works of art is the argument that imaginative genius founders of the Tea Ceremony selected and celebrated these utensils based on a sense of beauty called *wabi*. Such a discourse widely spread in the modern age along with the formation of the categories of Japanese art and craft. Consequently, some *meibutsu* tea utensils were designated as national treasures in the beginning of the twentieth century. Tea utensils have become nationally-acknowledged masterpieces of Japanese art, having developed from the Tea Ceremony.

The history of tea studies in Japan shows how it has contributed to the current recognition of Tea Ceremony as a unique national tradition. The leading researchers in tea studies have always included tea practitioners regardless of their occupations such as

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[7] After the rapid social change and modernization initiated and supported by the Meiji government, which aimed at establishing Japan as a nation-state, the newness of modern Japan was marked off as such by comparing it with the past. But what a nation-state requires are a polity and a national culture that can nurture a national identity among the people. Gluck mentions, "(t)he logic of Edo-as-tradition implies that even as modern Meiji strode purposefully away from its feudal past, it had nowhere else to turn for its national material." (1998: 266) The rising nationalism since the middle of the Meiji period led to a movement centering on the revival of culture from the past.

iemoto, historians, or philosophers. In the course of their attempt to elucidate "what the Tea Ceremony is," they actually have contributed to the construction of the very notion of "what the Tea Ceremony is." Though studies on the Tea Ceremony had been quite empirical and essential, analysis of the tea studies in the Meiji period onward added a reflexive viewpoint to the tea study itself. Yet, their focus still tends to be on legendary tea masters, famous tea scholars, and the development of the Tea Ceremony as a whole, not on the Tea Ceremony *practiced* by contemporary lay participants.

Anthropological Studies of Tea Ceremony: From Symbolic to Practice

Native and non-native anthropologists in the 1980's and 1990's regarded the Japanese Tea Ceremony as ritual and analyzed its structure and symbolic/metaphoric meaning (Kondo 1985; Anderson 1987; Colby 1991; Suzuki 1999). From their viewpoint, a tea ceremony was read like a text that represents a religious cosmology that is considered to be unique in Japanese culture. All the things, persons, and procedures were symbols that constitute the cosmic model as a whole. According to them, tea ceremonies are kinds "(s)pecific rituals" which "may deal with all or part of the cosmic model and concern themselves with integrating individuals or groups in a variety of ways" (Anderson 1987: 495). From this perspective, every single tea ceremony exists for forgetting "the contingencies of everyday life and frees the mind for 'greater' thoughts" (Kondo 1985: 302). Indeed, the Tea Ceremony has a ritualistic aspect, such as tea offerings at a shrine or a temple, but regarding every single tea ceremony as a ritual would conceal and mystify peoples' emotions and their actual practices of tea.

Recent anthropological studies casted a new light on tea. Etsuko Kato focused on the actual *practice* by female tea participants, the majority of tea practitioners today but had rarely been discussed (Kato 2004). Her concern is on the function of the Tea Ceremony for those people. She criticized the precedent anthropological tea studies mentioned above to be too idealistic and not actually looking at their real practice. She asserted, "(w)omen do practice the tea ceremony to avoid being subjected to men; the tea they make is not for men but for themselves" (Kato 2004: 199). By embodying "tea" through bodily discipline, learning knowledge, and visiting historical sites and drinking tea, they transform themselves into "independent, autonomous and spiritual human beings" (Kato 2004: 199). They socialize one another and find their own place away from men (mostly their husband) by participating in tea ceremony. Focusing on the current female tea practitioners, she strongly claims that tea ceremony is a means of women's empowerment in the modern Japan.

I share Kato's stance of looking at the actual practice of current tea participants and the construction of their social relationships, and not grasping at a symbolic, idealistic understanding of tea. What I would like to add is the fact, as the precedent studies on the relationship between tea and art show, that relationships between persons and things have also shaped and transformed the world of tea. Therefore, my focus in this dissertation is both on relationships among persons, and between persons and things, especially concerning the enactment of a tea ceremony and the generation of multiple tea-worlds.

Worlds and Moments: Theoretical Framework

In order to elucidate the reciprocal relationships between tea activities and multiple tea-worlds, I would like to employ both microscopic and macroscopic approaches. The former is based on art anthropology by Alfred Gell, and the latter is based on art sociology by Howard S. Becker. In this section, I would explain both theories to be employed.

Throughout my dissertation, I regard a tea ceremony as an occasion to entertain guests and also to be entertained by a host. It means not only that the host should play his/her role as a host, but also that the guests should willingly and actively accept their entertainment by playing the guest role. Thus, even if a person who hosts a tea ceremony is an experienced tea practitioner, or if the utensils he/she uses are authenticated by *iemoto*, the experience of the tea ceremony will not always be a *good* tea ceremony if the host's social relationship with the utensils and the guests is not in a particular state—that is to say, a tea-like situation. Therefore, one of my aim in this dissertation is to elucidate how a tea ceremony as an event is generated and experienced by various actors: in what situation a systematic-procedure-of-serving-and-drinking-tea becomes a *good* tea ceremony when mutual entertainment is successfully performed. Through analyzing ethnographic examples of the enactment of tea ceremonies, I would like to depict the dynamics of human and non-human actors generating a tea ceremony in its nonrecurring nature.

Before I start the discussion, it should be made clear that I am not an experienced tea connoisseur (*chajin*). However, since this dissertation is not a study of the Tea Ceremony performed by tea connoisseurs for the sake of the Tea Ceremony, I would rather remain a

methodological philistine (Gell 1992) in analyzing the activity. Alfred Gell took this stance in developing an anthropological study of art—turning his back on an aesthetic understanding informed by the question, "What is art?" and instead seeking to establish an action-oriented, relational understanding of art-objects. I employ this stance in order to avoid pursuing a symbolic analysis of the tea ceremony, which regards the ceremony as a ritual removed from the mundane that represents a macrocosm of the Tea Ceremony.

Another major approach to art taken by anthropologists and sociologists is to analyze social and power relations of human actors involved in giving credibility to mere artifacts, which allows them to become artworks (e.g., Danto 1964; Becker 1982 Clifford 1988). In particular, Becker analyzed how art works are produced by the cooperative activities of various people with shared understandings of the value of art works, and termed this phenomenon "art world." Although Gell avoided such an understanding of art, focusing more on micro-social interactions that an art-like object mediates, I cannot be indifferent to wider social and power relations when considering the Tea Ceremony, because such relations are also mobilized in the enactment of a tea ceremony.

Microscopic Approach

As mentioned before, the structure and ritualistic function of a tea ceremony and of tea utensils as vehicles of meaning cannot explain a tea ceremony as an experienced event just by themselves. If every single tea ceremony universally functioned for freeing a participant's mind for greater thoughts away from the mundane, nobody would ever complain about their tea ceremony experience. In fact, tea participants I have met often comment negatively on their tea ceremony experiences, even if they have previously been

satisfied with a tea ceremony hosted by the same person or performed with similar utensils. In my opinion, how an event is generated and experienced by participants depends not only on what the event and the elements that comprise it signify, but also on the relationships between all elements mobilized in the event being enacted.

Anthropologist Alfred Gell put forth a similar conversion viewpoint concerning the anthropology of art, focusing more on the social and causal relations of art-objects and actors surrounding them than on the object's' symbolic functions. Eschewing a reliance on aesthetic, interpretive, or institutional theory,[8] he proposed that what anthropology of art should deal with is "not what art objects represent or symbolize, but what they do within their social worlds" (Chua and Elliot 2013: 5). He developed his idea into what he termed "art nexus theory," employing terms from Peircian semiotics (Gell 1998). He assumed an artwork to be an "index" of social agency that triggers the recipient's "abduction" of agency. He calls instances of this "art-like situations ... in which the material 'index' (the visible, physical, 'thing') permits a particular cognitive operation" (Gell 1998:13) not confined to an aesthetic response. One famous example shown in a 1992 paper, "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology," is the Trobriand canoe-board.

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[8] Aesthetic theory provides the most essentialistic understanding of art. From this perspective, objects that are aesthetically superior can be defined as art. It is quite similar to the reasoning behind considering tea utensils as artworks, as these represent the aesthetics of *wabi*. Interpretive theory explains artworks as something "interpreted in the light of a system of ideas that is founded within an art-historical tradition" (Gell 1996:16). Institutional theory, according to Gell, "does not presuppose the historical coherence of interpretations. A work may be in origin unconnected with the mainstream of art history, but if the art world co-opts the work, and circulates it as art, then it is art, because it is the living representatives of this art world, i.e. artists, critics, dealers and collectors, who have the power to decide these matters, not 'history'" (Gell 1996:17).

> ...it is not the eye-spots [carved in the canoe-board] or the visual instabilities which fascinate, but the fact that it lies within the artist's power to make things which produce these striking effects [the successful Kula expedition]. We now can see that the technical activity which goes into the production of a canoe-board is not only the source of its prestige as an object, but also the source of its efficacy in the domain of social relations... (Gell 1992:56)

Gell focused not on what art is but what art does. An object does work as a social agent, when a person (the recipient) encounters it and infers its embodied intentionality.

Similarly, from my view, utensils presented in a tea ceremony cannot be reduced to mere symbols or vehicles of meaning. Tea utensils, indeed, represent something visually: the theme of a tea ceremony, the history of the tea ceremony itself, and the authoritative power in the world of tea. Yet, because holding a tea ceremony is, for the host, to entertain the guests, and for the guests to be entertained, no single element mobilized in a tea ceremony can autonomously generate the event alone. Focusing on preparation and enactment of a tea ceremony would foreground the utensils' mediatory role as social agents just like tea participants in a particular situation, hence the generation of each tea ceremony as a consequence.

In fact, Gell's theory has critically been reviewed many times (e.g., Layton 2003; Bowden 2004; Morphy 2009). They criticized, especially, on Gell's disregard of aesthetics and semiotics, which should influence recipient's perception of art-like objects. Morphy argues that, based on his research on Yolngu body paintings for circumcision ritual, Gell's focus on micro and momentary social interaction narrows down

anthropologist's analytic view, and makes it impossible to understand "how" an object exercises its agency or at least seems so in Gell's sense without considering contextual and historical situation it is embedded (Morphy 2009).

Their criticisms seem quite reasonable in case of the Tea Ceremony which I deal with in my research. In order to achieve a *good* tea ceremony, there should be coherence in knowledge and sense of value among participants to some extent. These requirements are contextual and historically constructed ones (see Chapter 2 and 3). Employing more macroscopic analytical framework, I try to supplement the weakness of Gell's theory about object's mediation of social agency.

Macroscopic Approach

A sociologist, Howard S. Becker analyzed how artworks are produced by cooperative activities of artists, art dealers, critics, consumers, and even including suppliers of tools and materials needed for the creation of artworks. He termed the venue of cooperative action as "art world."

> All artistic work, like all human activity, involves the joint activity of a number, often a large number, of people. Through their cooperation, the art work we eventually see or hear comes to be and continues to be, the work always shows signs of that cooperation (Becker 2008: 1)

He considers the art world as a venue of cultural production, where numbers of people act together under a shared set of conventions about rules, manners, and values of what

they are doing. Moreover, he asserts its open-endedness and multiplicity comparing it to the notion of "field" by Pierre Bourdieu. Becker analyzed the field as "defined and confined space… in which there is a limited amount of room, so that whatever happens in this field is a zero-sum game" (Becker 2008: 373). In Bourdieu's sense, people in a field, for example, scholars in an academia, struggle for their position in an arena of their activities mobilizing their social, economic, and cultural capital.[9] In contrast, Becker's "world" is of cooperation among people, not of a fight for social status. "When you aren't wanted in one place, you can always go someplace else, and do what you want to do there" (Becker 2008: 378).

Unlike the worlds of art, the Tea Ceremony rarely produces something in a material form. I can say that, indeed, the cooperation among Senno Rikyū the tea master, Chōjirō, who is the founder of Raku pottery, and any other possible actors produced famous tea bowls as a result.[10] But my focus is on the very activity of tea-drinking-and-serving—a tea ceremony, where all the participants and utensils act together based on a particular context and under a shared set of conventions. What they produce in cooperation is their tea experiences. I would like to call the venue "tea-world."

During my field research, I encountered tea practitioners making a lot of complaints and criticism on tea activities done by other tea practitioners. But it does not mean, in Becker's sense, that once you are criticized by others, you cannot do anything anymore.

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[9] Cultural capital is also a concept introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, both tangible and intangible non-financial assets that promote social mobility and also social inequality. Cultural capital can be classified into three states: embodied (e.g. knowledge, behavior), objectified (e.g. books, paintings), and institutionalized (e.g. certificate, license) (Bourdieu 1986). Accumulation of these cultural capital grants the owner social power and status.

[10] Morgan Pitelka (2005) examined the history and development of Raku pottery from its birth to the reinvention in the modern ages.

The *iemoto* system let us imagine "the field" having *iemoto* on top, and all tea practitioners are struggling to acquire a certain status in it. But tea-world is actually multiple, in each world people cooperate to achieve their own tea activities. Tea participants I met achieve and enjoy their tea activities without having close relationships with the top of the hierarchy, or even in a state of conflict with other practitioners. Combining microscopic approach and macroscopic approach together, I would like to depict the generative aspect of tea activities by lay practitioners.

Research Field

I chose Kanazawa City as my main research field, which has been famous for the popularity of the Tea Ceremony at least since the Meiji period.[11] The area including Kanazawa City was called Kaga, the southern half of the current Ishikawa Prefecture. The first compilation of studies of the Tea Ceremony treated Kaga as one of notable loci of Tea Ceremony (Miyamoto 1937: 445). Although Kanazawa City is not the center of Tea Ceremony like Kyoto where heads of schools live, I found the city is suitable for my research, aiming at elucidating the generation of multiple tea-worlds, as a periphery of the whole tea-world.

Kanazawa City is the capital of Ishikawa Prefecture, located almost in the middle of it. The city has a population of 453,570 designated as a Mid-Level City in 1996. The *Saigawa* River and *Asanogawa* River come from the mountainous area in the southern end of the city, run through the city central toward the Sea of Japan. The old part of the

[11] More details are explained in Chapter 3.

city is located in between the rivers and surrounded by three river terraces. There used to be the Kanazawa Castle, which has been in reconstruction since 1999, in the western end of the *Kodatsuno* river terrace, a castle of Maeda clan that ruled the current Ishikawa and Toyama prefectures from 1583 to the end of Edo period.

The popularity of the Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa is often explained by the cultural history of Kaga Domain: Because the third lord of the domain employed the founder of Ura Senke School of Tea Ceremony, which is the biggest school today, as a tea master, the Tea Ceremony became extremely popular in Kanazawa. The estimated number of tea participants in Ishikawa Prefecture in 2011 was 23,000, which occupies 2.2 percent of the total population of the prefecture. The ratio of tea participants to the total population of Ishikawa Prefecture has been always higher than that of nationwide. (Figure 1, 2, 3)[12][13]

[12] Figure 1, 2, and 3 are made by the author based on Survey on Time Use and Leisure Activities by Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, from 1986 to 2011.

[13] Due to the change of the method of collecting the statistics, the numbers of the tea participants from 1986 to 2001 include people above ten years old, and from 2006 to 2011 include people above fifteen years old.

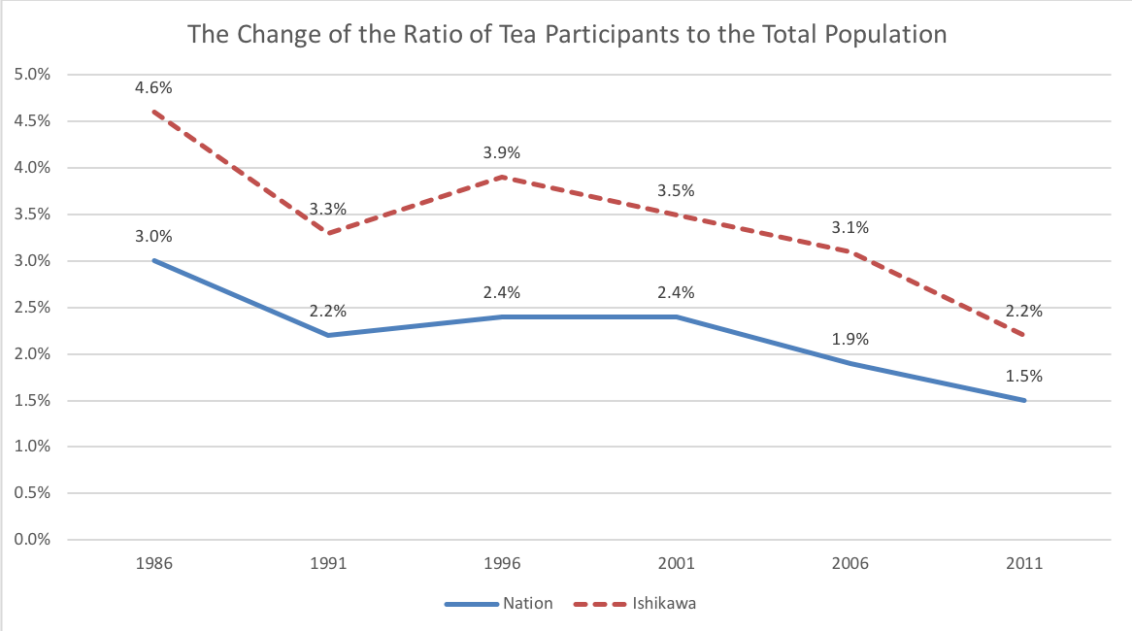

Figure 1 The Change of the Ratio of Tea Participants to the Total Population (Nationwide and Ishikawa Prefecture)

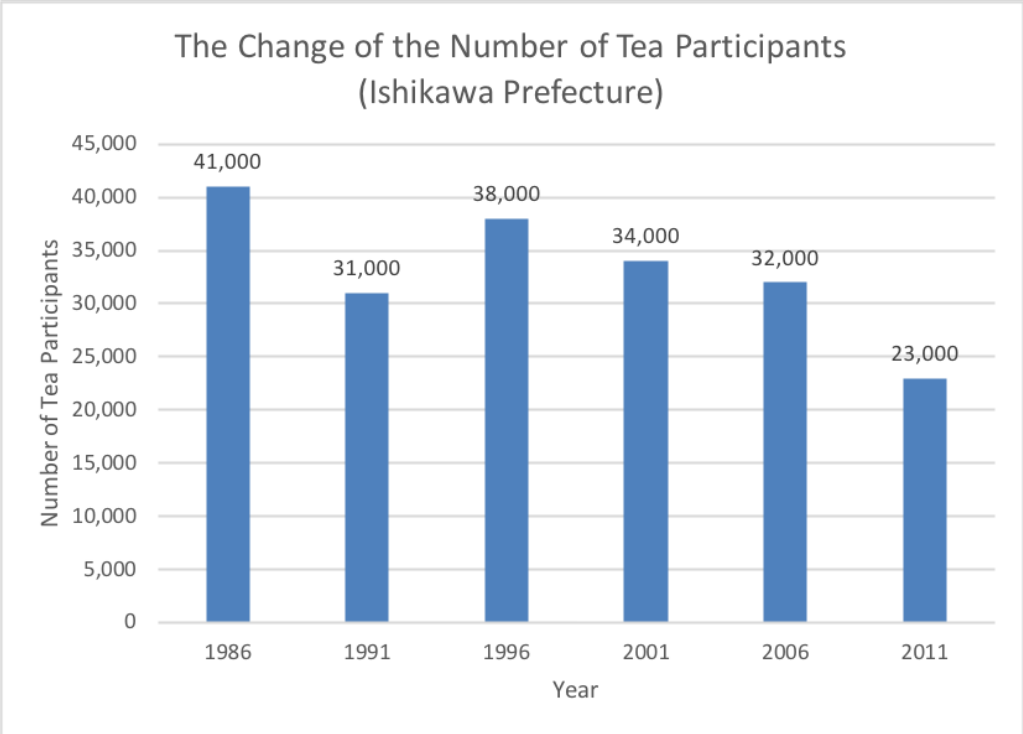

Figure 2 The Change of the Number of Tea Participants (Ishikawa Prefecture)

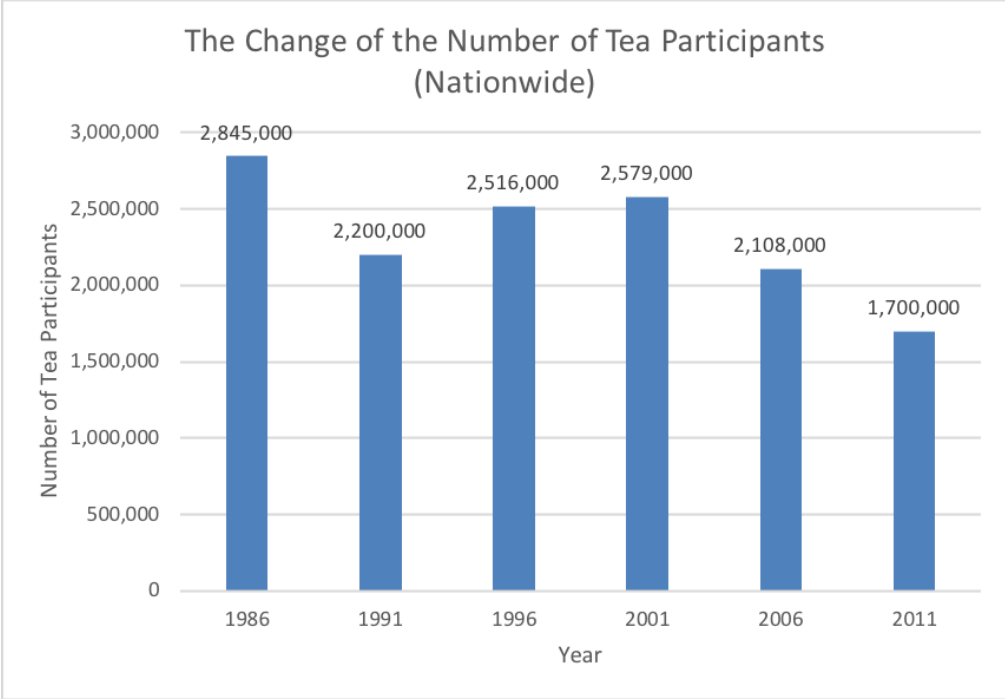

Figure 3 The Change of the Number of Tea Participants (Nationwide)

Background of Field Research

I conducted my field research for three and a half years from the September in 2014 to the February in 2017 in Kanazawa City explained above. I had to do my research intermittently as tea lessons and tea ceremonies take place occasionally, and the society of tea participants is not to live within. In total, I participated fifty tea ceremonies: twenty as an assistant, thirty as a guest. I mostly served as an assistant of one particular tea connoisseur, Mr. Hayashi.[14] I did participant-observation in his regular tea lessons, monthly study group, and all tea ceremonies in the branch of a school of Tea Ceremony he supervises. In addition, I served as an assistant of his two pupils (one male, and the other is female) who regularly hold their own tea ceremony (explained in Chapter 4) and one male tea practitioner from different school who occasionally hold his own tea ceremony. I conducted interviews with tea connoisseurs including highly ranked tea masters and tea practitioners from four different schools, and local scholars who are involved in tea activities.

Among all the informants I met, I chose Mr. Hayashi as my main informant. Being in his sixties, he has nearly forty years of Tea Ceremony experience. As with many other tea teachers, Mr. Hayashi does not make his living only by teaching Tea Ceremony; he is also a painter and a university art professor. Regarding tea, he serves as a supervisor of a branch of the school, consisting of around twenty members, and holds a small monthly Tea Ceremony study group at his house. His advantage concerning the Tea Ceremony lies in his ancestry. Although the Ura Senke School is dominant, he belongs to a relatively

[14] All the names of informants I met are pseudonyms.

minor school because his Meiji-era great-grandfather was a locally-famous tea connoisseur of the same school. When Mr. Hayashi was young, many senior tea connoisseurs in the city encouraged him to pursue the Tea Ceremony because of this. In addition, his ancestors were craftsmen who provided services to the Kaga Domain during the Edo period. Hence, he inherited numerous tea utensils, antiques, and *chasho* from his ancestors. I chose him as a main informant in order to learn about the reciprocal relationships between practices of tea and the local tea world, because he occupies an important position in the tea-world in Kanazawa City; he is involved in almost all major local *ōyose* tea ceremonies, of which he and his tea connoisseur friends are in charge.

His branch has about twenty members with four female practitioners[15] and one male practitioner who have a license to teach. There are three classes based in an institution for adult education organized by newspaper company and a community center. There used to be a class for advanced pupils held at a female teacher's house, but it closed after her death in 2015. I joined her class for beginners at an institution for adult education and have been practicing the Tea Ceremony there with four other pupils twice in a month. All the members of the branch from different classes get together at every *ōyose* Mr. Hayashi is in charge, and at *hatsugama* tea ceremony—the very first tea ceremony of the new year, of the branch. The next section explains more about the variations of tea ceremonies they host or participate as guests.

Variations and the Process of the Tea Ceremony

[15] When I started my research, there were another female practitioner having the license to teach but deceased in 2015.

Mr. Hayashi hosts a tea ceremony once per month on average. The general image of an authentic tea ceremony is something that takes place in a small teahouse with one and half tatami mats at minimum. The host invites only a few people who are his/her intimate friends. However, such a situation is quite rare for Mr. Hayashi, who mostly hosts "*ōyose*" (大寄せ) tea ceremonies, where hundreds of anonymous guests gather, in a hall with a *tokonoma* (床の間) alcove due to his social status in and outside the world of tea. This section explains variations and the process of tea ceremony, including *ōyose*, of which I did participant observation in my research. I divided all varieties of tea ceremony roughly into three types that differ in openness and formality: *chaji* (茶事), *chakai* (茶会), and *ōyose*.

Chaji is the basic and the most formal tea ceremony style, which I have never had a chance to take part in. It consists of a *kaiseki* (懐石) meal, thick tea (*koicha*/濃茶), and thin tea (*usucha*/薄茶), and lasts nearly four hours. Although *chaji* ceremonies vary according to season, time, and occasion, the most basic style is as follows (based on Abe 2007).

Invited guests arrive at the venue and wait until all guests have gathered in a waiting room (*machiai*/待合). Then they proceed to the garden, where a path of stepping-stones leads them to a teahouse. However, they wait for a while on a bench in the garden until the host emerges from the teahouse. The host and guests greet each other in silence across a low bamboo gate in the middle of the path. Once the host has returned to the teahouse, the guests purify their hands and mouths at a stone washbasin near the teahouse. They then enter the teahouse from a small entrance one by one, and appreciate a hanging scroll in the alcove. Meanwhile, the host waits in a kitchen for all the guests to enter. The snap of the door closing tells the host that the guests are ready. Before serving the meal, the

host sets charcoal in a fireplace and puts an iron teakettle over the coals as the guests watch. While waiting for the water to boil, the host serves a simple *kaiseki* meal to the guests. After enjoying moist Japanese sweets at the end of the meal, the guests temporarily leave the room and rest at the bench while the host prepares for serving thick tea. When they hear the sound of a gong, they reenter the teahouse. Instead of the hanging scroll, seasonal flowers welcome the guests. The host then starts making a bowl of thick tea for everyone to sip (from the same tea bowl.). The difference between thick tea and thin tea is the richness of the taste. Because thick tea requires more *matcha* tea powder than thin tea, it looks like a smooth, deep green paste. The first guest should ask the host about the name and maker of the moist sweets and the tea he/she has had. Once the last guest has drunk the tea, it is time to appreciate the utensils: the tea bowl, the ceramic tea container and its bag, and the tea scoop. The first guest takes the utensils by the hands and crouches over them to look at them closely, putting their elbows on their knees so as not to raise any item too high over the floor, in case one should drop, and passes it to the next guest. Then, the utensils are changed, and thin tea service starts. While the host makes a bowl of thin tea for each guest, the guests enjoy eating dry sweets and talking with the host in a more casual manner compared to the mood of the thick tea phase. Again, the guests appreciate the utensils, and the host makes closing remarks. Ideally, the host should prepare and carry out all procedures alone, or at least nearly so.

Although *chaji* can be carried out in a somewhat casual atmosphere, its prominent characteristic is the friendly relations of the participants. Choice of guests is an important consideration for a host in order to achieve *chaji*. The host should decide who is going to be the first guest (*shōkyaku*/正客) and let all the guests know by sending letters of invitation. All members must be close friends; the totality of the atmosphere would

collapse if only one were a stranger to the others. Because *chaji* requires that guests act properly as guests in a prescribed manner, and it takes years, or even decades, to form such a close relationship with the host and other guests, who are also experienced tea practitioners. In *chakai* and *ōyose*, which Mr. Hayashi usually hosts, this is not always the case.

I define *chakai* as semi-closed, and being both formal and casual. A good example is the first tea ceremony of the year, called *hatsugama*(初釜), in which I participated three times, hosted by Mr. Hayashi. As with *chaji*, this consists of *kaiseki*, *koicha*, and *usucha*, and the guests are all his students or acquaintances. However, how long they have been practicing Tea Ceremony does not matter: beginners and masters assemble, connected through their relationship with Mr. Hayashi. It is semi-closed because everyone has some kind of relationship with the host, but not always with the all other guests. If it is one's first time to join the *hatsugama*, he/she might feel a bit awkward and tense, surrounded by experienced seniors, but if the student enjoys a close relationship with the host and other guests, and he/she is an experienced tea practitioner, it will be a joyful and casual tea party. When I was invited to the *hatsugama* for the first time, I was not yet a pupil, and did not know anybody except Mr. Hayashi and a couple of his pupils. The role of the host is mainly to lead the procedure by talking. It is not necessarily to make and serve meals and tea, as his pupils generally do this.

Ōyose is quite different from *chaji* and *chakai* for its system of participation; the guests must buy tickets regardless of the formality. In this sense, *ōyose* is the most open tea ceremony. The price of the ticket will reveal the level of formality. The minimum cost of participation in *ōyose* ceremonies that Mr. Hayashi has hosted is 1,500 yen. Of course, experienced tea practitioners and friends have come, but so have complete beginners and

tourists who learned of the event by chance. In such cases, only *usucha* was served, and less than one hour was spent on one session. Only the first guest can drink tea made in front of everyone; all others receive bowls of tea whipped in the kitchen, called *mizuya* (水屋). Because nearly three-hundred tickets are sold in total, Mr. Hayashi has to repeat *usucha* service eight times due to the capacity of the venue. The role of the host is to lead the tea ceremony by talking, as with *chakai*. Even though the students perform all of the making and serving procedures, it is the master's tea ceremony.

I have helped hold *ōyose* and *chakai* hosted by Mr. Hayashi more than ten times and have participated *ōyose* hosted by other tea connoisseurs with Mr. Hayashi and his pupils, or heard stories about them. Regardless of the ceremony style, even if a host follows these procedures properly, a tea ceremony can leave different impressions on the participants; in this dissertation, either mutual entertainment is successfully achieved, or it isn't. Here, I think, lies a clue to elucidating the ways in which a tea ceremony as an event is generated by various actors and experienced by the participants.

The Structure of the Dissertation

The analytical part of the dissertation is divided into four chapters. From Chapter 2 to Chapter 4 employs macroscopic approach of Becker's art sociology. Chapter 2 deals with the conventions of Tea Ceremony. I would depict how tea participants gradually acquire and embody the conventions and perform, appreciate, and evaluate their tea activities based on them from ethnographic data I collected mostly at Mr. Hayashi's group of tea practitioners. Chapter 3 explores the construction of a particular local context—*Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context, and how it is incorporated into tea activities in Kanazawa City.

Chapter 4 examines how tea participants develop their relationships in order to carry out, and through practicing, tea ceremonies from examples of three different tea participants. I would like to focus both on the way they develop the relationships and split up, which consequently generates another venue of tea activity.

Chapter 5 finally cast a microscopic viewpoint on an enactment of tea ceremony. Employing Gell's art anthropology, I would like to analyze how human and non-human actors work together to generate a tea experience in its nonrecurring nature by ethnographic description of enactment of tea ceremonies from both host's and guest's point of view. Chapter 6 concludes by combining both macroscopic and microscopic analysis of the Tea Ceremony by lay participants today and tries to elucidate the generative aspect of the present Tea Ceremony.

2 Conventions of Tea Ceremony Today

As composers can write a song and convey the notes to players through five lines and dots on it, which is, of course, called a score (Becker 2008: 40–42), tea practitioners can achieve a tea ceremony through a shared set of conventions. “Doing” Tea Ceremony is not just about sitting on tatami-mats with your legs folded underneath making/sipping a bowl of whipped green tea. You must follow complicated rules and manners for doing it and are required to embody them and the knowledge on the history, anecdotes, legends of Tea Ceremony, tea utensils, and even other forms of Japanese art and culture. All of them would be mobilized into tea ceremonies they host or participate as guests, where all the participants, and even the utensils used, act together to generate the tea experience. In this chapter, I would like to describe the conventions of Tea Ceremony based on which tea practitioners achieve their activities.

In explanation of conventions of art worlds, Becker gives various examples such as music and scores, ballet and roles and stories, and poems and languages.

> Every art world uses, to organize some of the cooperation between some of it participants, conventions known to all or almost all well-socialized members of the society in which it exists (Becker 2008: 42).

The shared set of conventions enables participants of an art world to perform or produce their works (not confined to material entity), and also appreciate and evaluate their works one another. In case of the Tea Ceremony, I think, such a shared set of conventions must be bodily movements, knowledge on Tea Ceremony, and, interestingly,

their attitude toward Tea Ceremony. The following sections explains these conventions one by one from ethnographic data.

2.1 Bodily Convention

Regular practice of making and drinking tea comes first of everything. Complete beginners start from learning how to open a *fusuma* sliding door, make a bow, walk in a tearoom, take a seat, and finally have sweets and tea. After spending so much time for the practice of making and drinking tea, they would embody the bodily convention that distinguishes themselves from non-participants. In the former half of this section, I will explain how beginners start the practice of tea-drinking and then advance to that of tea-making. The latter half deals with how their bodily convention matters in an actual tea ceremony.

Participating in a tea ceremony without proper "body" makes non-practitioners and beginners be scared of just drinking a bowl of tea. Ms. Shinoda in her late forties joined a tea ceremony class at an institute of adult education, which is my major research field. "I just wanted to learn how to drink a bowl of tea properly," said her, when I asked the reason why she joined the class. "Because it is embarrassing that I do not know how to drink a bowl of tea in my age, as a person living in Kanazawa City." Although this her remark is quite insightful, such as the connection between her embarrassment and her place of residence or her age, I would like to focus on her hesitation on drinking a bowl of tea without knowing the proper manner in this section.

Ms. Shinoda joined the class three months later than I did. I myself had already had some experiences of the Incense Ceremony beforehand, participated in tea ceremonies as a guest, and known how to drink a bowl of tea. On the contrary, Ms. Shinoda did not

know anything about being a guest of a tea ceremony. Both of us started practicing how to open a sliding door, walk in a tearoom, sit in front of *tokonoma* alcove to appreciate a hanging scroll and flowers, and take a seat, as beginners instructed by our teacher named Ms. Nakamura.

Ms. Nakamura's way of teaching was quite casual: she sometimes wore a pair of jeans, which is generally considered to be inappropriate for Tea Ceremony class and did not require us to be perfectly silent during the class. Ms. Shinoda frequently asked detailed questions about how to drink a bowl of tea such as how many times and what degrees she should rotate a bowl before drinking. Ms. Nakamura told her only the reason why she should rotate a tea bowl and did not stipulate the exact times or degrees for doing it. Ms. Shinoda seemed to be confused by the teaching at first as she just wanted to know the exact manner for drinking tea.

After a series of classes, Ms. Shinoda expressed her impression on my motion such as entering a tearoom, drinking a bowl of tea, and eating sweets, saying, "You are quite at home in the (tea-related) motion!" Although I was and am not an expert of the Tea Ceremony, her gaze defined me as a proper "tea practitioner." She did not describe my motion as "you rotated the tea bowl perfectly at ninety degrees" or "you walked a tatami mat exactly in six steps," anymore in the ways she had asked Ms. Nakamura for her learning but referred to my 'air' (fun'iki 雰囲気) of tea practitioner. She had acquired a set of understandings about tea-like motions that distinguishes practitioners from non-practitioners even though she still could not perform it.

After spending a couple of months for practicing basic movements in a tearoom, we gradually moved on to practicing *temae*. Ms. Shinoda and I began *wari-geiko* (割稽古) for making a bowl of tea at first. *Wari-geiko* means practicing only a part of the whole

procedure of tea-making: folding a *fukusa* (袱紗) silk cloth, wiping a *natsume* (棗) tea caddy and a *chashaku* (茶杓) tea scoop with a *fukusa*, and folding a *chakin* (茶巾) cotton gauze to wipe a tea bowl. Ms. Shinoda and I spent another couple of months for *wari-geiko* and drinking practice.

When the teacher thought we became good enough at *wari-geiko* and drinking, we moved on to *bon-temae* (盆点前), a tea-making procedure using an iron kettle and a round tray to place a tea bowl, *natsume*, and *chashaku* on. Because *bon-temae* is the most informal tea-making procedure for thin tea session, there are few chances to actually make tea in *bon-temae* at a tea ceremony. Even one of our seniors, Ms. Suzuki said that, "I need to remember *bon-temae* (for teaching it)." However, the curriculum stipulates to master *bon-temae* first, then move on to more formal variations of *temae*. The practice of *bon-temae* was the first experience for us to integrate all the elements of *wari-geiko* into the flow of tea-making procedure.

Beginners start practicing the Tea Ceremony from details and then integrate them to the entire procedure of tea-making, and gradually acquire the bodily convention of the Tea Ceremony. Once they learned the basic flow of a tea ceremony, they go back to the details again: a whole variety of the ways of entering a tearoom, drinking tea, eating sweets, and making a bowl of tea depending on seasons, occasions, and formality of a tea ceremony. Despite that I myself have been practicing the Tea Ceremony for nearly three years, am still strolling around the entrance of the world of the Tea Ceremony.

Once they come to be able to make and drink a bowl of tea in the most basic way, there would be no hesitation in just participating in an *ōyose* tea ceremony. Of course, it takes long time and requires repeated practice for mastering a simple and basic *temae*. Therefore, regular practice of the Tea Ceremony often tends to be a mere routine of basic

temae and drinking if a teacher does not intentionally construct a curriculum for more complicated and formal or irregular occasions. Even an experienced tea teacher can make a mistake during a tea ceremony, after teaching only basic *temae* for years: and the mistake can only be noticed in a set of shared bodily conventions.

At a tea ceremony, which was a semi-closed *chakai* for inviting host's and assistant's friends or pupils of the Tea Ceremony, an elderly tea teacher embarrassed her companions for missing a bodily convention. The tea ceremony was organized by a society of tea connoisseurs, which Mr. Hayashi, a supervisor of a branch of a school of the Tea Ceremony, take part in. The society usually hold a private tea ceremony once in a month just by themselves, but they give a chance to have a glance of their tea ceremony to non-members once in two years. Despite that the guests need to buy ticket as if they participate in a *ōyose* tea ceremony, because the society members sell tickets only by themselves, guests were eventually limited to their pupils and friends. In this sense, the tea ceremony is semi-closed one and the expected guests were all experienced tea practitioners.

The tea teacher, Ms. Nomura, has been teaching the Tea Ceremony at an institute of adult education for years. Therefore, she indeed is an experienced tea practitioner. In a big room accommodating about thirty guests, she sat on the second seat as her male pupil was asked to be the first guest by Mr. Hayashi in advance. Because the guy was still a beginner, she was there to support him in case he made a mistake in the drinking procedure. Her female companions from the same branch of a school including Ms. Suzuki sat on the next to her. I was almost in the last seat facing directly toward Ms. Nomura and her companions. As tea connoisseurs from various schools organized the tea ceremony, guests were also from various schools. In a dim natural light, the tea ceremony started with a perfect silence.

The tea ceremony was a thick tea session, so that a few assistants brought moist sweets in a tier of lacquered boxes with spicebush sticks to pick the sweets placed on the lid. The boxes are called *Fuchidaka* (縁高), which is indispensable for a formal thick tea session. The first guest seemed to be bewildered not knowing how to handle the boxes. The rest of the guests quietly observed the first guest and Ms. Nomura instructing him in a low voice at first. But when Ms. Nomura took up the box on the top with the lid and sticks altogether and passed the rest of the boxes to the next, they started to buzz: because her motion was completely wrong. Taking too much time for handling the *Fuchidaka*, a woman making a bowl of thick tea in front of the guests suspended her *temae* to help them. She instructed Ms. Nomura and her pupil how to take sweets from *Fuchidaka* and pass it to the next.

Two weeks later, some of the members got together again for a monthly study group of the branch. Before the lecture by Mr. Hayashi begins, he started talking about the tea ceremony at which Ms. Nomura made a mistake. As soon as he referred to Ms. Nomura's behavior, Ms Suzuki interrupted him saying, "I was so embarrassed! There were my acquaintances from different schools. I cannot believe that Ms. Nomura does not know how to handle *Fuchidaka*." She was extremely shocked about Ms. Nomura missing a bodily convention, which is not confined to their school of the Tea Ceremony. Of course, details of tea-making or drinking procedure differs in each school of the Tea Ceremony. However, the basic treatment of *Fuchidaka* is a must-know for all tea participants who are experienced enough to participate in a thick tea session.

Ms. Nomura's mistake mattered for Mr. Hayashi too. He did not witness the incident with his very eyes but heard from somebody because he served as an assistant at the tea ceremony. He referred to another mistake done by Ms. Shinoda at a monthly study group

after the tea ceremony. A woman who sat next to Ms. Shinoda told him that there was no tea left for her in the tea bowl Ms. Shinoda had drunk from (she was supposed to leave some tea in the bowl as the bowl of thick tea was made for three persons). Though he did not show anger or displeasure about the incidents, seemed to be worried about if the mistakes by his pupils would injure his reputation as a tea connoisseur: the study group felt like a mild interrogation about who made what kind of mistake in what situation. The bodily convention not only affects their experiences of tea ceremony but might even injure the reputation as a tea connoisseur.

In addition to the functions of bodily convention mentioned above, it also represents in which tea-world people belong to. Of course, the bodily movements for *temae* and drinking differ depending on schools of Tea Ceremony. But there can be differences in the bodily conventions even within a school of Tea Ceremony.

It might be surprising to know for non-practitioners that *temae* can be slightly changed by *iemoto* of each school as time goes on. You might imagine that in hundreds of years, it can happen. But in fact, the time span of changing is much shorter. In order to follow the latest bodily convention, limited numbers of people take *iemoto*'s or his/her representatives' lessons. An interviewee from *Urasenke* school, Mr. Koyama made an interesting comment about it.

> "Acknowledged tea masters in Kanazawa are actually not so good at *temae* as they are not taught by anybody currently. Tea practitioners in Kanazawa would be evaluated as doing old-fashioned *temae* at an official lecture held by the school."

He teaches Tea Ceremony at his house but is still a pupil of a teacher who take lessons

by representatives of *iemoto* in Kyoto. Actually, he said that he and his teacher are not involved in Ishikawa branch of the school they belong to. “There are some sort of world (*sekai*) in the branch. We are tired of the power struggle in it. That is why my teacher goes to Kyoto,” said he. Though he indicated that there are struggle for the status, he and his teacher moved out from the local tea-world of Ishikawa and evaluates tea practitioners in Kanazawa as “old-fashioned” (*kofū na* 古風な). He does not want to share the bodily convention with tea practitioners in Kanazawa but follows the latest one acquired from his teacher who goes to Kyoto, the authentic center of Tea Ceremony for him.

The bodily convention of Tea Ceremony is, for tea practitioners, an identification as a tea practitioner, and a norm to evaluate and produce their tea experiences. First of all, it enables tea practitioners to be proper actors during a tea ceremony. They gradually transform their body into tea practitioners’ body through regular practice and embody the conventions in order to take part in, and not to interrupt the seamless flow of the tea-serving-and-drinking procedure. Deviation from the convention does not only interrupt the flow and affect their tea experience but may influence his/her own and related people’s reputation as tea practitioner. Moreover, their choice of particular bodily convention represents which tea-world they intentionally belong to.

2.2 Studying the Tea Ceremony

An interesting story Ms. Shinoda told me was that all other tea ceremony classes she made a contact with, except the one she could join, refused to accept her as a student if she wants to learn only the drinking procedure. “They said to me that such an attitude

cannot be accepted as a tea practitioner." Explaining her experience, Ms. Shinoda told me that other tea teachers were keen to recommend her to learn about not only drinking but also making tea, and even study its history, and spiritual and philosophical aspect.

Looking at the Tea Ceremony from Bourdieu's point of view, such knowledge can be called symbolic cultural capital. Kato analyzed the fact that tea participants attach great importance on "study" (Kato 2004: 189–193). Her focus was on female tea participants, who are mostly housewives. From her point of view, engagement in the Tea Ceremony empowers women to acquire social status being independent from their husbands. In such a case, studying (*benkyō*) the Tea Ceremony is considered to be parallel to the educational background, as a symbolic cultural capital, of the male members of their family. But here I would like to think about "studying" from a different view point: they study the Tea Ceremony for the sake of achieving *good* tea ceremonies and vice versa.

Participant-observation of the current tea practitioners including both male and female who *study* the Tea Ceremony gave me an insight that their *study* is slightly different from an academic pursuit. For tea practitioners, *studying* the Tea Ceremony is a part of activities of the Tea Ceremony as a whole. From the very early stage of its history, tea participants have left numerous notes and records of their activities, which are collectively called *chasho* (books on tea). Taking these and their experiences of the Tea Ceremony as their resources, modern tea connoisseurs (*kindai-sukisha*) advocated treating the Tea Ceremony as an academic subject of study. While these studies have contributed to the formation of the current notion of the Tea Ceremony itself, they correspond to the very attempts to elucidate the essence of tea: to answer the question, "What is tea?" in order to become a better tea practitioner.

As the oldest tea ceremony records[16] show, feudal lords and wealthy merchants enjoyed tea ceremonies from the early sixteenth century onward. Tea participants took notes on utensils used, and meals served, in tea ceremonies they hosted or were invited to. Moreover, they left books on empirical learning and philosophy on the Tea Ceremony and utensils. For example, Yamanoue-no Sōji—a wealthy merchant in the town of Sakai and a pupil of Sen-no Rikyū— wrote esoteric books on celebrated tea utensils called meibutsu and his philosophy on the Tea Ceremony. He explained and evaluated famous utensils in use at that time and elucidated his opinions on how a tea connoisseur should be.

Authors of *chasho* in the pre-modern age empirically and subjectively studied Tea Ceremony, but modern tea connoisseurs—mostly rising businessmen of the new era—and also scholars, brought such studies of tea into academic fields in their attempts to revive the Tea Ceremony from decline in the beginning of the Meiji period (Tanaka 2007). Tea is "a religion of aestheticism" (Okakura 1994: 219). By stating this, Tenshin Okakura tried to introduce Japan to western countries.[17] Japanese scholars and tea connoisseurs have inseparably related the tea ceremony and Japan as a nation-state since the modern age, along with the uprising of nationalism. For years they have made assertions like "(1) Tea Ceremony is unique in Japanese culture, (2) Tea Ceremony is the ultimate essence of Japanese culture, and (3) Tea Ceremony is synthetic (because it has all the elements of Japanese culture)" (Tanaka 2007: 392-393). These have been their answers to the question,

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[16] For example, *Matsuya Kaiki* (Matsuya record of tea ceremonies) is contained in Sen 1957.

[17] "The Book of Tea" was first published in English, and then translated into Japanese in 1929. Tanaka (2007) and Yoda (2013) analyzed its influence on the discourse of Japanese tea ceremony in Japan.

"What is tea?" and it affected the essential understanding of the Tea Ceremony among lay participants.[18] Since the emergence of the modern tea studies, tea scholars have continued to pursue historical studies of the Tea Ceremony in order to elucidate how such an essential Japanese cultural activity started, and developed, for a better understanding of what tea is.

Tea participants today study the Tea Ceremony by reading books written by the scholars or listening to their teacher, and even attending an academic meeting. Japanese Society for Studies of CHANOYU (JSSC) is the one and only academic meeting specialized in tea studies, established in 1993. Their subjects of study are not confined to the Japanese Tea Ceremony but includes *Sencha* (infused green tea) Tea Ceremony, every kind of tea as beverage, and any kinds of tea-related culture. It has seven branches in Japan including Kanazawa branch, and holds regular meetings at each. Kanazawa branch, established in 2010, is the newest branch according to a manager, Mr. Igawa, who is a tea connoisseur and used to be a branch manager of a school of the Tea Ceremony. Kanazawa branch has members more than seventy regardless of their schools, occupying around ten percent of all the members of the society. Mr. Igawa emphasized how the Tea Ceremony is popular in Kanazawa saying that, "It is astonishing that Kanazawa branch has so many members, despite that the population of Ishikawa Prefecture occupies only one percent of the whole nation."

Although it is an academic meeting, most of the members of Kanazawa branch are tea practitioners not scholars. According to Mr. Igawa, the ratio of tea practitioner to scholar reverses looking at that of the whole members of the society. Nevertheless, at an annual

[18] See, for example, Kato 2004, chapter 3.

conference of the society I participated in 2015, there were a lot of elderly women in kimono greeting with male scholars in a suit. The front half of the venue was filled with scholars including a few females, and the rear half seemingly filled with practitioners. In case of the regular meeting of Kanazawa branch, the majority of the audience is tea practitioner. At the regular meetings of the branch, I could not find any scholars other than invited presenters.

Not only Mr. Igawa arranges regular meetings of JSSC, but also other supplementary events such as occasional tea ceremony and excursion in Kanazawa branch. He calls the events as "*kenshū*," which means "study" or "training" in English. They hold a tea ceremony every year at remaining old teahouse or tearoom. The launch of the tea ceremony was triggered by the principle of the current representative of JSSC, Isao Kumakura. "He thinks that it is necessary to involve practitioners into the society and scholars should be committed to the practice of the Tea Ceremony too," said Mr. Igawa. The central members of Kanazawa Branch take charge of the tea ceremony in turn, and other members participate as guests for their *studying*.

Moreover, they go all the way to museums or historic places in other prefectures in order to enrich their knowledge on the Tea Ceremony. As Kato introduced in her book, such excursion is quite common for tea participants, by which they connect themselves with the authentic history of the Tea Ceremony (Kato 2004: 143–149). In this case, the participants connect themselves not only with the history but academia, which produces authentic knowledge—the essential understanding of the Tea Ceremony. Their ordinary tea activities, even including tea ceremonies they participate, are directly linked with the *studying* in the name of academic meeting.

2.3 Tea Experiences and the Convention

The reason they need to study the Tea Ceremony besides acquiring the bodily convention is related to the three criteria by which tea participants describe their experience of tea ceremonies: things, people, and conversation. I have been participating a monthly study group of the Tea Ceremony organized by Mr. Hayashi since 2015. The monthly study group works also as an opportunity for the students to share their experiences of participating in a tea ceremony. They review tea ceremonies among themselves, in which only a few of them participated. Listening to their review, I found that their evaluations of tea ceremonies are based on the conventions of Tea Ceremony, and depend on if all the participants are following or intentionally deviate from, the convention.

The first criterion is things. Although the reason to participate the study group may vary from person to person, the participants mostly study the utensils and history of the Tea Ceremony. The first class I participated in focused on pottery and its terminology. Mr. Hayashi provided us with handouts copied from an encyclopedia of pottery and explained important terms, such as those for types of pottery, producing districts, production methods, and also the names for the parts of pottery pieces, showing photos from other books, or sometimes his own items. At such (and at other) times, Mr. Hayashi may produce a tea bowl or some other item and challenge his students to explain about the piece:

Mr. Hayashi: Can anybody say something about this tea bowl?

Ms. Kosaka: It must be... Karatsu.[19]

Mr. Hayashi: Exactly! You're becoming a connoisseur (*mekiki* =having a sharp eye)! Can you explain about it more precisely.

Ms. Kosaka: This grass pattern is... *Tetsue* (black patterns drawn with pigment containing iron). And it has *tokin* [pointing at a projection on the center of the backside of the bottom of the bowl.].

Mr. Hayashi: Good, well done. This should be called *Tetsue Kusamon Karatsu* (a *Karatsu* tea bowl with grass patterns drawn with iron pigment).

Through such conversations, students acquire the ability to discuss tea utensils and improve their vocabulary which is common for all tea participants, because what host and guests mostly talk about during a tea ceremony is not their private concerns but rather the tea utensils before them.

Figure 4 The Monthly Study Group

[19] Karatsu is a type of pottery made in Northern Kyūshū area, centering mostly around Karatsu City.

Such utensils are major parts of the tea experience enjoyment, yet they can be sources of disappointment. “There were no great utensils in particular” (*taishita odōgu ga nakatta*), someone might say after participating in a tea ceremony. But what does this actually mean—that there were no celebrated utensils (*meibutsu*), or there were none that they liked? Perhaps yes, but listening to such comments and stories, I came to realize that guests do not talk so much about each utensil but rather about the array of items as a whole when they complain. When the manager of the branch, woman in her sixties named Ms. Nakamura, talked about an annual national tea meeting of the school, in which designated branches would be in charge of *koicha* or *usucha* in the *ōyose* style, she expressed disappointment in the selection of the utensils by saying “the selection simply followed the preferences of the head of the school (*iemoto*).” Although it would seem proper to accept the *iemoto*’s personal tastes, she concluded that the tea ceremony was boring. Mr. Hayashi always tells his students to be creative regarding the selection of utensils, and an *ōyose* of the kind mentioned above lacks creativity according to him. By calling the experience “boring” (tsumaranai), Ms. Nakamura meant that she did not feel that the host had shown an intention to entertain the guests through his/her own creativity.

The second criterion is people. Mr. Hayashi often tells his students to be careful about the selection of the guests if they host a tea ceremony because if there were a stranger or somebody who is not in good relationships with other participants, it would be difficult to infer the intensions to entertain and to be entertained one another among the host and the guests. Problems with (and between) attendees can become rather serious. Mr. Hayashi and his students often complain, especially, about disgraceful behavior on the part of the guests. At one *ōyose*, as a participant, I watched many guests enter the tearoom

and get stuck at the entrance. This was because the first seat and about five others near it were empty. The reason was simple: everybody always hesitates to be the first guest. Students of the study group invariably complained about this endemic behavior after every tea ceremony they joined. They consider such behavior disgraceful. Nevertheless, it is also rude to sit closer to the first seat than a more experienced senior guest. This strange problem is, indeed, related to the hierarchical teaching system of tea but also to the third criterion—conversation.

Although *ōyose* is often held in a casual manner, only the first guest is allowed to communicate with the host directly during the tea ceremony. Therefore, tea participants are generally frightened to be the first guest at an *ōyose*, where anonymous guests gather. The first guest's role is the same as at a *chaji* ceremony, starting with a seasonal greeting, and then moving on to questions about the sweets, the tea, and the utensils. Tea teachers generally tell beginners not to sit in the first seat, as they do not yet know what questions to ask, and when. Furthermore, even if they have already learned, it is still difficult to make lively conversation during a tea ceremony, avoiding mere routine dialogue. One time, when Mr. Hayashi explained the reason for studying about utensils, he said, "At an *ōyose*, if there is one male participant and the others are female, the man will automatically be the first guest, even if he is just a beginner. But he won't know what to do and what to talk about." Mr. Hayashi seemed to consider a silent first guest to be a source of trouble for the host and for other guests, as such a guest cannot open any conversation during a tea ceremony.

Yet, conversation is not only a matter for guests (or for the first guest) but also for the host. Once, Ms. Nakamura frowned with displeasure while reflecting on the host of the national tea meeting: "She just talked about the difficulty of preparing to host that

prestigious tea ceremony, such as having to pick flowers in the early morning that day. And there were few references to the utensils." While other students nodded in agreement, another intriguing remark followed: "Not a single utensil left any strong impression on my mind." She finally concluded that the tea ceremony was boring and a disappointment, after referring to all three criteria covered above.

Tea participants evaluate their tea experiences based on the conventions they obtained through daily practice of *temae* and study of the Tea Ceremony (through any kind of tea-related activities). As they embody the proper behavior and bodily movement of the Tea Ceremony, they would become able to distinguish "deviated" ones. Shared set of vocabulary is also important for them to communicate at a tea ceremony or in some academic settings where tea participants including scholars produce and verify their knowledge. That is because, what and how to talk about in tea activities often entertains and disappoints the participants or even affect their reputation as a tea practitioner.

The Tea Ceremony is not just about serving and drinking tea for the practitioners; studying tea was originally a part of the practice of tea, and then it became an academic subject of study in the modern age. Such studies, aiming at elucidating the meaning and essence of tea, have contributed to constructing the current status of the Tea Ceremony according to the recent studies on the modern Tea Ceremony. But this is not merely something that happened in the past. Participants today are keen to learn about the results of studies by contemporary scholars, renew their knowledge, and mobilize these into their tea activities where tea participants act together to generate their tea experiences.

2.3 Creativity as a Convention

The conventions of Tea Ceremony are not confined to the bodily movements and the knowledge they acquire from studying but their "attitude" toward Tea Ceremony: to be creative. The repetitive criticism on Tea Ceremony by both practitioners and non-practitioners show that they consider the creativity is a part of the essence of Tea Ceremony. Moreover, such notion had let tea participants consider "new" or "contemporary" tea ceremony. In this section, I would like to review the criticism on Tea Ceremony since around the Second World War onwards and their attempt of "new" tea ceremony from literature review, and participant-observation and interviews I conducted.

In fact, the Tea Ceremony has come under fierce criticism over and over. Ignoring the reliability of the historical document, even Senno Rikyū mentioned that, "the original way of tea would be abandoned in ten years" (Kumakura 1983: 261), according to *Nanbōroku*, which became one of bibles of Tea Ceremony in the Meiji period. *Nambōroku* was perhaps written in the middle of Edo period, when the Tea Ceremony had become popular among samurai and townspeople under the establishment of the *iemoto* system. The Tea Ceremony has been criticized numerous times even since the premodern ages.

Isao Kumakura analyzed how the Tea Ceremony was criticized in the middle to later Edo period (his range of scope is on 1751–1789). He summarized the criticism by non-practitioners into two different features: (1) the appreciation for insanitary old tea utensils, (2) the chaos of social classes induced by passing a bowl of tea around and drinking from it with all the guests in a small room together. As if responding to such criticism by non-practitioners, tea masters also criticized the status quo of the Tea Ceremony at that time. They criticized "formalized" Tea Ceremony losing its substances. For example, overissuing licenses to immature practitioners and notes of authentication of tea utensils which Rikyū would not have approved of (Kumakura 1980: 50–56).

The eighth *iemoto* of *Urasenke* school, Ittō Sōshitsu (1719–1771) pointed out that the non-practitioner critics do not understand the essence of Tea Ceremony, and so do not the tea practitioners at that time. Referring to the criticism on insanitary old utensils, he suggested that tea practitioners should acquire the taste of the legendary tea masters in the past and take care of the utensils they have found with their very eyes. Kumakura concludes by saying that Ittō tried to re-interpret Rikyū's Tea Ceremony, which had become incomprehensible being formalized and lost its substances as time went by, from more analytic viewpoint.

Such remember-the-essence-of Tea Ceremony kind of discourse flourished in the post-war period too. In Kato's analysis on female tea participants, she pointed out that the Tea Ceremony became extremely popular among housewives of white-collar businessmen in the post-war period (Kato 2004: 97–99). Tea masters and scholars called the phenomenon "*taishūka*" (literally, popularization) and criticized the situation as far from the essence of Tea Ceremony.

In 1954, the official magazine of *Urasenke* school of Tea Ceremony, *Tankō* carried an article titled "The Final Settlement of the Criticisms on Tea Ceremony." There gathered two tea connoisseurs, a high priest of Zen, and an editorial writer of Kyoto Shimbun newspaper and discussed on the criticism made by notable writers at that time. The critics they tried to respond to included, Yasuji Hanamori,[20] Shōfū Muramatsu,[21] Tarō Okamoto,[22] and Eiji Yoshikawa.[23] They at first referred to Yasuji Hanamori, who

[20] Yasuji Hanamori (1911–1978) is an editor and writer of a lifestyle magazine for female.
[21] Shōfū Muramatsu (1889–1961) is a novelist.
[22] Tarō Okamoto (1911–1996) is an artist and writer.
[23] Eiji Yoshikawa (1892–1962) is a novelist.

criticized the Tea Ceremony for being far from the modern lifestyle of laypeople. Although they discussed if the Tea Ceremony can be modified suitable for modern lifestyle, Sanmai Sasaki, a tea connoisseur, showed his displeasure about the Tea Ceremony performed by *taishū* (literally, mass, but in this article, lay practitioners) recently. Sasaki showed his discontent with *ōyose* tea ceremony that looked like a mere recreation to him, where hundreds of tea participants gather dressed up and pretending to be a tea connoisseur.

Their criticism on the status quo of the Tea Ceremony became more apparent when they moved on to review comments by Tarō Okamoto, who criticized the formalism of Tea Ceremony. Okamoto asserted that form is not to be adhered but to be renewed again and again referring to *temae*—the bodily convention of Tea Ceremony. The tea connoisseurs admitted that the formalism was prevailing in Tea Ceremony and criticized tea practitioners who are not "creative" for their tea activities. They disapproved of the attitude of tea practitioners just following rules stipulated by each school.

While they recognized the difficulty of teaching Tea Ceremony as they cannot teach without the conventions, evaluated the Tea Ceremony practiced by people who do not teach as creative. "It is okay to deviate (from the conventions) a little. It is also okay not to deviate (and follow the conventions). They enjoy tea ceremonies freely as they like" ("The Final Settlement," 1954: 41). During the discussion, they often referred to Rikyū, who they think were aware of the essence of Tea Ceremony.

Their concern was always on the formalized Tea Ceremony without creativity. Even tea scholars wrote criticisms in a similar way such as Tadachika Kuwata (1979) and Shin'ichi Hisamatsu (1973). Hisamatsu considered the Tea Ceremony as important Japanese tradition that includes tangible and intangible cultural assets. In particular, the

spirit of *wabi* which he regards more than aesthetics, but philosophy established by Rikyū, is the most significant feature of the Tea Ceremony for him.

> Considering if the spirit of *wabi* is alive today, I think it was most lively in from the later Muromachi period via Momoyama to the early Edo period, when Jukō and Rikyū were alive. And then such a lively sprit already died as the Tea Ceremony had gradually become formalized and lost its substances in the passage of time. Therefore, the Tea Ceremony became estranged from the life of human being, moreover, any kind of creation disappeared in the Tea Ceremony (Hisamatsu 1973: 26).

Finally, he recommends to his audience (the paper is a record of a lecture) that we must regain the spirit of *wabi* and try to become creative individuals.

As if answering to such criticisms on the status quo of the Tea Ceremony, the second son of the fifteenth *iemoto* of Ura Senke school and numbers of artists started a tea ceremony project named "*Sabie*" in 1991. A founding member of the project, Ikkō Tanaka, a graphic designer, explained their idea in the first book they published.

> The Tea Ceremony has four hundred years of history since its birth. I had been thinking that the original philosophy had been transmitted being quite distorted in the modern age. …The reversal of the sense of value turning ordinary tools into excellent tea utensils, or "*mitate,*" bringing something irrelevant into a tea room and find another recognition of it. These are actually common in our world of art direction. In that sense, I think that artists and designers today are closer to Rikyū's spirit than tea practitioners learning only manners and rules (Sabie Cultural Institute 1993: 12–13).

In their project, they made literally everything: tea utensils, tea rooms, and even host's clothes instead of kimono, all of which looked irregular and avant-garde. Numbers of artists and designers were involved in the project in order to represent the Rikyū's spirit—the quintessence of Tea Ceremony.

This kind of attempt is nothing rare recently. I myself have met a tea master in Kanazawa, who seek for such a "creative" tea ceremony eschewing formalized Tea Ceremony. Ms. Harada in her fifties, once was a mere pupil of her teacher, practiced *temae*, and served as an assistant of her teacher's tea ceremonies. After years of practice under the teacher, finally her frustration exploded. "I could not stand any longer bowing to unattractive utensils just because these have notes of authentication by *iemoto*," said she during an interview. Then she started an *ōyose* tea ceremony by herself. She made contact with numerous contemporary artists and craftspeople and asked them to borrow their works or make new utensils. Talking about her belief on Tea Ceremony, she insisted, "I thought I can express the sense of beauty of Tea Ceremony without authentication but with newly made utensils and contemporary arts."

In fact, the attitude of "being creative" is common to my main informant, Mr. Hayashi as is introduced in the second section of this chapter. Tea connoisseurs and scholars have repeatedly lamented on the lost creativity in Tea Ceremony, which they consider an essence of Tea Ceremony. Therefore, tea practitioners, who are trying to avoid doing a formalized Tea Ceremony, intentionally differentiate their tea activities as creative, from formalized one. In this sense, creativity, or being creative is like a convention to follow as the attitude represents "the lost essence" of Tea Ceremony in Rikyū's days.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored what kind of conventions today's tea participants commonly share and act upon. The first and foremost convention they are required to embody is the bodily convention: how they move their body for serving and drinking a bowl of tea. Without acquiring these, one would even hesitate to participate the most open and casual tea ceremony—*ōyose*. While it works like a passport to the world of Tea Ceremony, it does affect their tea experiences: participants perform and evaluate one another regardless of their schools.

The second one is a set of knowledge on the Tea Ceremony. In order to acquire the knowledge, tea participants have literally studied the Tea Ceremony for a better understanding of the essence of it. Through the study, they gradually learn what to talk about in and outside a tea ceremony for *good* tea experiences. Moreover, they evaluate their tea experiences based on the knowledge they acquired referring to three criteria: things, people, and conversation.

Their attitude of being creative for doing Tea Ceremony can also be regarded as a convention. Contemporary tea practitioners' tea activity has been criticized over and over. The critics' assertion is always the same: today's Tea Ceremony is far from the essence of Tea Ceremony and you must be creative like Rikyū. I introduced a group of artists and designers who tried to perform "creative" tea ceremony and a lay practitioner in Kanazawa who also tried to avoid doing formalized Tea Ceremony. Creativity as an essence of Tea Ceremony has become a convention, under which participants achieve their tea activities seemingly irregular: to hold a tea ceremony using brand-new utensils and works of contemporary art.

Tea practitioners share, or intentionally do not share, the set of conventions for their *good* tea experiences. In the beginning the convention is just an identification as a tea practitioner or a passport to the world of Tea Ceremony. But the more conventions they embody/acquire, the more their tea experiences are affected: how they act in a tea ceremony, how they compose of a tea ceremony, and how they evaluate tea ceremonies.

3 Kaga-Hyakumangoku Context and Local Tea Activities

3.1 Introduction

Where, when, and for whom to hold a tea ceremony are considerably important matter for a host of a tea ceremony. Those conditions are often already determined by others in case of *ōyose*: held along with a festival, or on a date and at a venue arranged by organizer such as sponsoring company and local government. Taking these conditions into consideration, a host chooses utensils along with a theme of tea ceremony: under what kind of context he/she tries to entertain the guests. The theme also matters to the guests: they try to guess under what kind of context the host chose the utensils (including a hanging scroll). The most prominent and general context must be the Tea Ceremony itself. They can choose utensils based on the conventions of it: choose according to the hierarchy of utensils,[24] something related to important figures of the Tea Ceremony, or utensils with seasonal motifs. Such selection of utensils under broadly shared context makes it easier for both host and guests to communicate via things during a tea ceremony. This

[24] The hierarchy stipulates, for example, that *Karamono* (utensils from Ancient China) has the highest status and *Wamono* (utensils made in Japan) the lowest, Raku pottery is the highest among *Wamono* tea bowls, and so on.

chapter tries to reveal the construction of a local context mobilized in tea ceremonies in Kanazawa City, which have contributed to the formation of a local, peripheral world of Tea Ceremony.

In my research field, Kanazawa City, many *ōyose* are held under one particular context. Let me call it *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context. Kanazawa City has long been promoted as a traditional castle town, where cultural legacy, including the Tea Ceremony, from the feudal era is still alive. These days, tea masters in Kanazawa City host *ōyose* tea ceremonies under the very local context of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* (=prosperous feudal past). This chapter analyzes the interrelationship between the construction of such context as a convention of local tea-world: effective mostly in the city and local tea activities. I focus at first on the changes of how the feudal past of the city has been interpreted and propagated by various actors, then on how the constructed past support the context of *ōyose* tea ceremonies in Kanazawa City.

The history of Kanazawa as a major tourist resource today usually begins from a specific person: Maeda Toshiie (1538–1599), who moved from the present Nagoya City to Kanazawa as a feudal lord in 1583. From that time on until the end of the Edo period, Maeda clan ruled the area of the present Ishikawa and Toyama prefectures. The central part of Kanazawa City, which is the capital of Ishikawa prefecture, developed as the castle town of the Kaga Domain, where numerous samurais and merchants who served for the Kaga Domain lived.

Kanazawa is now under a spell of "*Kaga Hyakumangoku*," which is a phrase frequently used to represent the prosperity of the Kaga Domain. The phrase implies all "tradition" in the present Kanazawa City has its origin in this particular era. *Hyakumangoku* originally means a million *koku* (=石) that represent the rice productivity

of the area, and simultaneously the financial power of the Kaga Domain. The phrase has become a symbol of not only the financial, but also cultural prosperity of the Kaga Domain in the past. However, such an extreme admiration of the feudal past without any doubt is actually a recent mode.

Following sections look at positive and negative opinions on the feudal past by the municipal government, local historians, and a local newspaper. Although there used to be multiple opinions on the feudal past, with the dramatization of Maeda clan for *Taiga* Drama (*Taiga Dorama*) in 2002 as an opportunity, their opinions were unified under one purpose: development of the city based on tourism featuring the legacy of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*. Such a course of development of the city and the local world of Tea Ceremony mutually affected each other under the extreme admiration of the feudal past. In this chapter, I would like to depict how the history of Kanazawa City has been explained and propagated and its relationship with the current local tea-world of Kanazawa City. The first section briefly explains the concept of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*. The second section analyzes the changes of how the feudal past of the city is interpreted and propagated by various actors. The third section refers to the history of Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa studied by local scholars and documented by local tea connoisseurs from the Edo period to the modern ages. The fourth section depicts *ōyose* tea ceremonies in Kanazawa held under the context of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*. The final section analyzes the mutual relationship between the local context and the local tea-world.

3.2 The Concept of Kaga-Hyakumangoku

Kaga-Hyakumangoku. We see this phrase always today in explanations of the history

and culture of Kanazawa both for tourists and locals. Kaga is derived from the name of the domain that ruled the area of present Ishikawa Prefecture and Toyama Prefecture. *Hyakumangoku* signifies the rice productivity of the domain. It literally suggests that the Kaga Domain was the biggest and richest among domains except hereditary vassals of the Tokugawa family. The phrase itself is, however, an expression invented in the modern ages according to precedent studies (e.g., Motoyasu 2006). *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* implies more than its literal meaning.

Yoshio Tanaka, who wrote a book titled "*Kaga-Hyakumangoku,*" explains the reason of the titling that, "the title of the book '*Kaga-Hyakumangoku*' let the readers imagine the splendor and cultural aspect of the Kaga Domain more than titling just as 'Kaga Domain' or 'administration of the Kaga Domain,'" and cultures developed under the reign of Maeda Tsunanori, "are the foundation of the present Kanazawa today as the town of history, of arts and crafts, and of culture" (Tanaka 1980: 5–6).

Probably, the oldest and most famous tourist site in Kanazawa City is the Kenrokuen

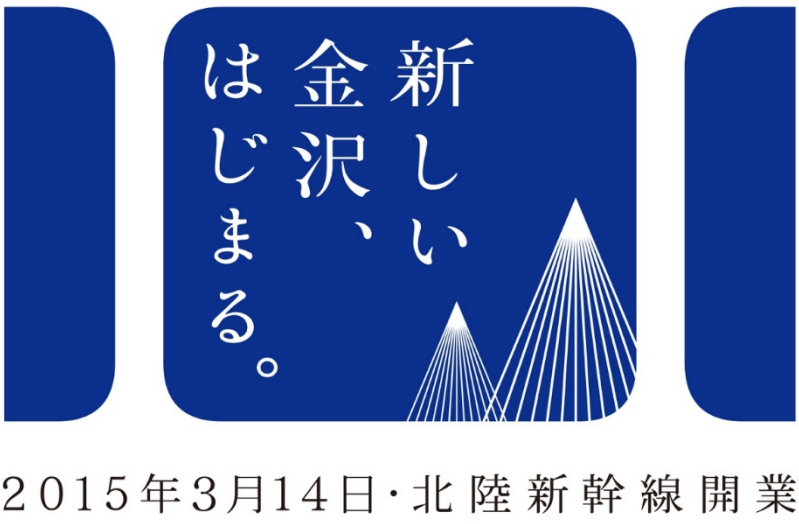

Figure 5　Official Logo of the Opening of Hokuriku Shinkansen Bullet Train

Garden. It was originally made as a private garden for the feudal lord in 1676, and then opened to public in 1871 after the end of the feudal era. The iconic scenery of *Yukitsuri*, which means ropes stretched from the top of a tree to the lower branches to prevent their breaking under heavy snow, was featured in the official logo of the opening of Hokuriku Shinkansen bullet train. A historic site of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* was used to promote the most recent traffic development to the whole nation. (Fig. 5)[25]

The image of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* is not just used for promoting Kanazawa for tourists, but for the citizens to develop local identity. For example, during the annual *Hyakumangoku Matsuri* (Hyakumangoku Festival) organized by the city and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Kanazawa (CCIK), which commemorates the entrance of Maeda Toshiie into the Kanazawa Castle on June fourteenth, almost all elementary school students in Kanazawa City are required to participate in the Drum and Lantern Parade to celebrate the festival. They assemble in the central park of the city with a big Japanese drum on a cart decorated like a float, which belongs to each school district, and parade back to their own school district holding Japanese lantern in their hand. The main event of the festival is a reproduction of the Daimyo procession of the Kaga Domain. The parade consists of a famous actor as Maeda Toshiie and an actress as his wife, members of CCIK and some volunteers in costume of samurai, a little boy and a girl living in Kanazawa selected as the prince and the princess of Maeda clan, Shinto priests in full dress, and so on. The parade is broadcasted live locally with TV announcers and a commentator who explains the historical background of each character in the parade. By participating and watching the festival every year, citizens of Kanazawa City learn about

[25] Retrieved on 31 March 2017, from http://www4.city.kanazawa.lg.jp/17215/kaigyoukiunjyouseijigyou/index.html

the history of *Kaga Hyakumangoku*, and also become a part of it.

Such consciousness of the citizens of Kanazawa had gradually been constructed after the Meiji Reconstruction. Motoyasu analyzed the construction of local historical consciousness of Kanazawa citizens through the representations of the Kaga Domain and the former successive feudal lords. He points out that the publication of a compiled history of the Kaga Domain represents the earliest attempt to re-establish a historical consciousness for the local people by the former feudal lord. The fourteenth head of the Maeda clan, Yoshiyasu started a project to collect historical documents of the Kaga Domain and Maeda clan in 1869. The project continued even after his death. In 1926, Maeda clan established an incorporated foundation "*Maeda Ikutoku-kai*" in order to preserve the heirloom of the clan and also to publish "The Historiography of the Kaga Domain." The first volume of the historiography was finally published in 1929, edited by Ken Hioki, a local historian.

> This (the historiography of the Kaga Domain) was an attempt to recognize the history of Kaga Domain by providing a historical description along with the historical view point of "*Kaga Hyakumangoku*," which particularly put stresses on the founder Toshiie, and Tsunanori as a restorer of the domain. (Motoyasu 2006: 74)

Although the exact phrase *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* was not used in "The Historiography of the Kaga Domain," Motoyasu finds the origin of the local identity of Kanazawa in the publication of the first complete history of Kaga Domain.

In addition, He also points out that monuments, paintings, and a shrine that honor the

Maeda clan recalled the memories of the prosperous Kanazawa in the past for the locals after the decline of the city due to the big social change. Kanazawa castle town used to be the fourth or fifth largest city in the seventeenth century as same as Nagoya, next to Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto. However, the central Kanazawa faced a devastating decrease in population in the Meiji period. (Fig. 6)[26]

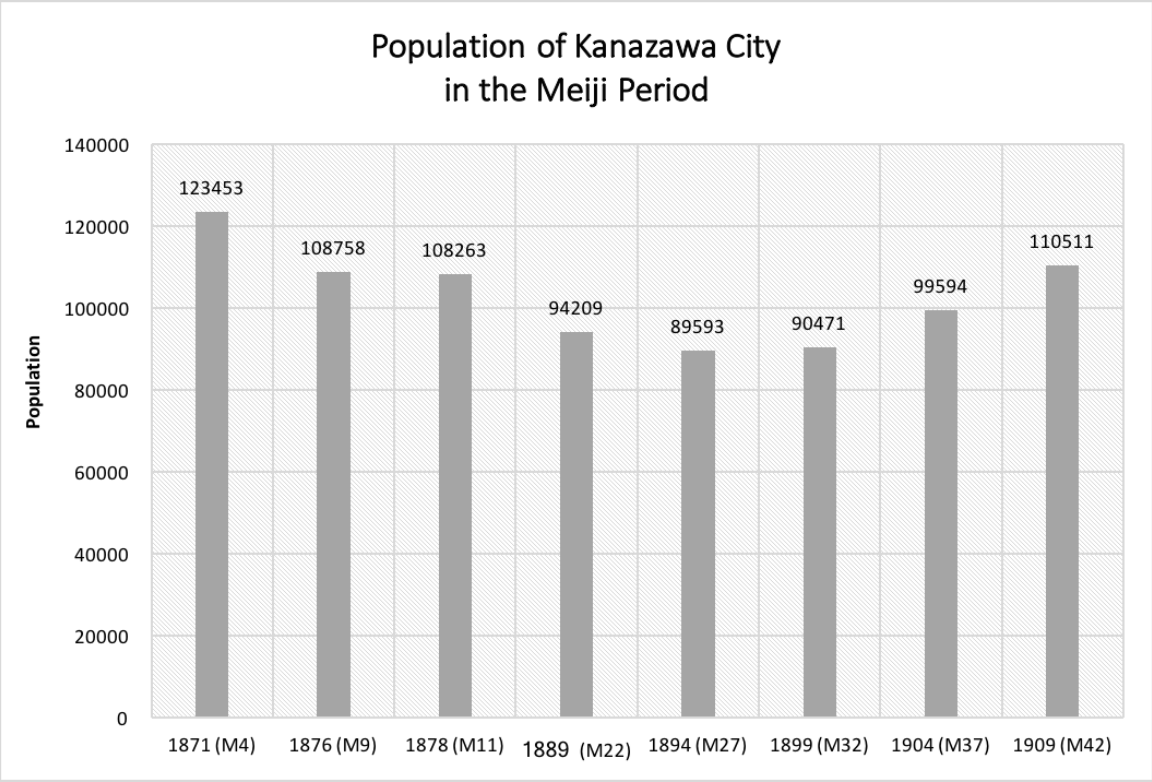

Figure 6 Population of Kanazawa City in the Meiji Period

The Kaga Domain became the Kanazawa Domain in 1869, when lands and people were returned to Emperor from feudal lords (*Hanseki-hokan*), and the thirteenth lord

[26] The figure is made by the author based on The Historiography of Kanazawa City Vol. 12 (2003).

Yoshiyasu became the governor. In 1871, the Meiji Government officially abolished the feudal domain system in order to reinforce the centralization of administrative power of the government. Eventually Yoshiyasu left Kanazawa and the former Kaga Domain became Kanazawa Prefecture. In 1972, the prefectural office moved from the central Kanazawa to Mikawa Town, and the prefecture was renamed as Ishikawa Prefecture. Although Kanazawa City returned to be the capital in the next year, the population of Kanazawa City decreased dramatically since around then by 1897.

Motoyasu refers to the function of the construction of the Oyama Shrine in 1873, when Kanazawa was facing the severe decline (Motoyasu 2006). Due to the ruin of the Utasu Shrine, in which the founder of the Kaga Domain was enshrined, former retainers of the Kaga Domain petitioned to the then governor of Kanazawa Ward for the construction of a new shrine to honor the Maeda clan in 1873. The main gate of the Oyama Shrine featured western style architecture with stained-glass in order to attract more visitors. Motoyasu analyzed the construction of the shrine as a device for remembering the glorious feudal past: *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*.

The Oyama Shrine and the events related have played a significant role for the construction of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* consciousness. The decline of the population ceased after the establishment of the ninth division of the Imperial Japanese Army and the opening of the Hokuriku Line in 1989. In this late Meiji era, there were numerous festivals of the three hundredth anniversary of the death of the founder of the feudal domain everywhere in the nation. According to Takagi, this trend represents the attempt to connect the local history with the national history by honoring the founder of the former feudal domain by explaining how the feudal lords had been loyal to the Emperor, under whom the Meiji Government tried to establish the unity of the nation (Takagi 2005).

Kanazawa also held a grand festival commemorating the three hundredth anniversary of the repair of the Kanazawa Castle by the founder, Maeda Toshiie in 1891 for five days. Since the festival, the annual *Hokoku* Festival, in which people pray for the prosperity of the city commemorating the entrance of Maeda Toshiie into the Kanazawa Castle, changed from ritualistic one only at the shrine to festivity involving the whole citizens. In 1899, the *Hokoku* Festival and a commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Maeda Toshiie were held together on a grand scale at the Oyama Shrine. A portable shrine paraded through the city and citizens celebrated the festival by hanging paper lanterns and a curtain on which the emblem of the Maeda clan is painted. Motoyasu explains that this festival eventually became a prototype of the current *Hyakumangoku* Festival that commemorates the entrance of Maeda Toshiie into the Kanazawa Castle. The festival to honor the former feudal lord then became a festival for the citizens of Kanazawa City, which the citizens learn the history of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* from, and also become a part of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* through participating in.

The image of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* often comes with its cultural aspect. In 1932, Kanazawa City held The Great Exposition of Industry and Tourism (*Sangyō to Kankō no Dai-Hakurankai*) for fifty-five days from April fifth to June twelfth in the Kanazawa Castle and a drill court in Dewa-machi town. At the time Japan was suffered by the Shōwa Depression, which was caused by the Great Depression. The purpose of this exposition was to consider how Kanazawa City can revive from the depression. It was the first attempt to promote the development of tourism by the Kanazawa administration (Ogawa 2014). Until the Great Depression, textile was the chief industry in Kanazawa City. Because the export of textile (and of some other handcrafts such as porcelain) was almost the only way for Kanazawa City to recover from the decline in the early Meiji period, the

impact of the Great Depression and the Showa Depression for Kanazawa City was devastating. The municipal government had not paid much attention on tourism development until the Showa Depression, however, finally started to promote tourism as an alternative source of the development of Kanazawa City.

According to the analysis by Motoyasu, what Kanazawa City chose to promote itself in the expo was the legacy of *Hyakumangoku.* The cover of the official brochure of the expo featured the portrait of Maeda Toshiie, the founder of the domain, the script of Noh chanting from a program titled Ataka, and a *ukiyoe* of a scenic place in Kanazawa drawn by Utagawa Hiroshige. Even though modern, art deco architecture filled the venues, what attracted the visitors most was the performance by *Geigi* (=geisha). Motoyasu concludes that "Even in the beginning of the Shōwa period, or rather to say, because it was the beginning of the Showa period, the founder of the domain of the Kaga-Maeda clan and the scenic beauty from the feudal era were promoted as 'representatives of Kanazawa' in the modern exposition" (Motoyasu 2015: 64–65). The cultural aspect of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* was the most attractive and productive concept to promote Kanazawa for the tourism development.

The concept of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*, which represents the economic and cultural prosperity in the feudal past, and as the origin of the current Kanazawa City had gradually been constructed in the city's development since the Meiji period. The city administration strategically used the concept to establish the brand-new administrative unit, cultivate the civil consciousness, and promote the city as a tourist destination in the course of the development of the city. However, the evaluation on the feudal past was not always positive. The next section analyzes the changing evaluation on the feudal past.

3.3 Changing Perspective to Evaluate *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*

Despite the strategic use of the feudal past by the municipal government, the evaluation on *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* had long been ambiguous. Even the city officials had an antinomic consciousness toward the feudal past in the beginning of the Meiji period. However, their strategy to develop the city by tourism let them promote the legacy of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* as a glorious past and the origin of the city. Moreover, the ambiguous evaluation by other actors were eventually unified under the purpose of tourism development.

As is mentioned in the last section, the Oyama Shrine and events related played a significant role for the construction of the local identity based on the feudal past. The municipal government started the city festival, in accordance with the Hokoku festival at the Oyama Shrine, in 1923. In order to remind the purpose of the festival, Kanazawa City officially made a statement for the opening of the sixth city festival. “It is to commemorate the benefit from the founder of the domain, and pray for the development and the prosperity of the city.”[27] Nevertheless, the reaction from the local press was rather cynical. “It is just enough to call it a recreation for the citizen.”[28] It implies that honoring the feudal lord in the past does not matter for the current Kanazawa citizens.

Moreover, Kanazawa City itself had an ambiguity in the evaluation of the feudal past. The city published “The Textbook for the Kanazawa Citizens” (Kanazawa Shimin Dokuhon) in 1928. Such a textbook for the citizens was commonly published by other cities like Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, and Takaoka, in order to nurture the citizen consciousness

[27] Carried in Hokkoku Shimbun (1928 May 16).
[28] Carried in Hokkoku Shimbun (1929 June 14).

and the affection for the city. Yamamoto pointed out the unique characteristic of the Kanazawa's textbook as below.

> The original characteristic of "The Textbook for the Kanazawa Citizens" was that it advocated to 'improve the characteristics of the citizens.' The section titled as 'merits and demerits of the citizens' represents such an attitude. The section explains the merits of Kanazawa citizens as 'honest,' 'kind,' 'simple and gentle,' 'patient,' and 'precise.' On the other hand, there were many demerits pointed out. 'Negative,' 'passive,' 'not good at business,' 'silent and less communicative,' 'indecisive,' 'sluggish,' 'stubborn,' 'inflexible,' 'exclusive,' and 'decadent.' (Yamamoto 2014: 244)

What the textbook emphasized was the improvement of such characteristics of the citizens, which were derived from the feudal era. Yamamoto calls it "*Hyakumangoku* consciousness" and defines it as "a negative legacy" different from the pride of *Hyakumangoku* which the municipal government advocated in the statement for the opening of the city festival (Yamamoto 2014: 244). The feudal past was to be proud of, and also to be abandoned for the municipal government.

The notion of *Hyakumangoku* consciousness as an old evil was not confined to the city officials but fairly shared with a local press, local scholars, and business persons who desired Kanazawa to be an economically and industrially developed city. The most dominant local press in Kanazawa City today, Hokkoku Shimbun started in the fifth of August, 1893. A serial column about Hokuriku area, started in the same month, evaluated Hokuriku area as uncivilized but culturally rich. It praised the refined taste of Hokuriku people explaining the popularity of Noh, Tea Ceremony, flower arrangement, and so on,

but also gave a warning that such a taste tends to be a source of conservatism, which would prevent Hokuriku area from civilization and the advance ("The Refinement of Hokuriku," 1893). A clerk of the Kanazawa Chamber of Commerce, Sanada Yonokichi critically accused of the citizens being indulged in *Hyakumangoku* consciousness and encouraged them to improve the character of the citizens for the industrial and economic development of the city (The Editorial Committee of The History of Kanazawa City 1999: 514–520). Soon after the Second World War, a symposium titled "The Discussion on the Feudal System of the Kaga Domain" was organized by Hokuriku Mainichi Shimbun. There gathered such as local scholars, invited scholars, and city officials. Although the purpose was to consider how they should evaluate the feudal past of Kanazawa in "postwar democracy," they rather positively evaluated the domain administration particularly concerning craft industry. However, as their discussion moved on to how Kanazawa can develop as a modern city, they critically evaluated Kanazawa as a cultural city based on the feudal legacy, which is far from the modern, innovative, and developed city ("The Disscussion on the Feudal System," 1946).

The criticism on the feudal past by scholars based in Kanazawa City became more apparent in the first movement of "Kanazawa-logy." Yoshio Tanaka (1923–2009) established a small study group of scholars in Kanazawa City called "The seminar of Kanazawa-logy" in 1983. He was specialized in the economic history of the Kaga Domain, and also a pioneer of the study of urban history of the domain. The statement for the establishment of the group by Tanaka defines the purpose of the group that, to "solve the urban problems of Kanazawa through the cooperative research by scholars in different fields from the historical perspective" (Tanaka 1989a: 293–294). They held monthly study group for twenty years, and published ten collections of essays based on the

presentations at every seminar. According to a participant, Tadashi Yagi, their studies were "different from the conventional praise for '*Hyakumangoku* Culture,' but included criticism of" (Yagi 1989: 291).

Indeed, the founder of the group, Yoshio Tanaka severely criticized a so-called cultural policy by the Maeda clan that encouraged retainers and townspeople to practice Noh chants, Tea Ceremony, or some other cultural activities, and established a tooling office hiring skillful craftsmen from in and outside of the domain. Just as the local press criticized the character of the Kanazawa citizens nurtured in the feudal past decades ago, Tanaka negatively evaluated the cultural policy as an obscurantist policy.

> The feudal lords (of the Kaga Domain) demonstrated to the Tokugawa Shogunate that they construct a cultural town by inviting scholars, craftsmen, painters, and literary men, and on the other hand they encouraged the followers of the *Ikko* Sect of Buddhism —the citizens to practice Noh chants and the Tea Ceremony in order to disempower them (not to rebel against the feudal lords). As a result, the energy of the citizens (who used to rebel against feudal lords) was not spent on the cultivation of rational mentality, which is necessary for business. Instead, they found the greatest honor in becoming privileged townspeople serve for the feudal lord, which is quite irrational, and indulged in Noh chants and the Tea Ceremony. (Tanaka 1989b: 89)

Yagi referred to another characteristic of the movement that it was "not a unilateral enlightenment for the citizens but we (=participants) teach one another there (through discussion among scholars and citizens)" (Yagi 1989: 291). Remembering the movement, a participating historian Hiroshi Motoyasu explained the character of the study group that,

"the participants were concerned with the construction of civil society, including Yoshio Tanaka himself" (Motoyasu 2010: 44). At an interview with Mr. Motoyasu I conducted, he evaluated the Kanazawa-logy movement antiestablishment. In addition, participants were not necessarily positive about the city-led tourism development (Motoyasu 2011: 163).

Such an attitude toward the municipal government and the feudal past prevailed among scholars and researchers in Kanazawa at that time until nineteen-ninetieth according to Mr. Motoyasu and other interviewees. In particular, historians specialized in ancient and medieval times and archaeologists formed the atmosphere of the local academia. For instance, a local historian, Toshiki Asaka (1934–1989) censured the Maeda clan for exploiting farmers in order to transplant culture, which flourished and accumulated in Kyoto and Osaka area, to the Kaga Domain (Asaka 1988). An interviewee Mr. Tanigawa[29] remembers what Asaka told him when he gave a presentation of a study of the Maeda clan. "He told me that 'if Takabori,[30] Sakurai,[31] or I make a severe comment on such a study, most of them give up their research (of the feudal lord).'" The way Mr. Tanigawa told me the story implied that these three persons were quite influential on the evaluation of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* at that time. These scholars put more attention on the history of the common people such as the uprising of Ikkō sect followers in Kaga, and how they were oppressed and exploited by the feudal lords.

Although Asaka was not involved in the first Kanazawa-logy movement as he died in 1989, his opinion on the feudal past led to a result, which he might not have expected:

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[29] His name is a pseudonym.
[30] Katsuki Takabori (1913–1989) is a local archaeologist.
[31] Jin'ichi Sakurai (1922–1993) is a local archaeologist.

dramatization of the Maeda clan that eventually unified the ambiguous evaluations on the feudal past later. Asaka's remarkable achievement was that he considered "the Sea of Japan rim cultural area" in order to understand the history, the uniqueness, and the innovativeness of Hokuriku area not from the relationship with the central government but the interaction with the coastal areas of the Sea of Japan.[32] In his closing years, Asaka lamented on the haphazard development of Kanazawa City losing its "original" feature showing his antiestablishment attitude.

> The view of Kōrinbō or Musashigatsuji[33] is not of Kanazawa anymore. What we can see now is a typical empty urban town of modern Japan, which lost its uniqueness. …For the revitalization of the city, we must recover its originality. We will not be able to achieve that unless we get over "the modern era" represented by "centralized government," "capitalism," and "development lacking in originality." Roughly speaking, the revitalization of the city, in order to survive the twenty-first century, depends solely on the rebellion against the state power, large capital, and drastic urban development of the modern era. (Asaka 1987: 44–45)

This remark was included in a short essay contributed to a book commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of Kanazawa Association of Cooperative Executives (KACE) edited by Asaka himself. In this book, the chairperson of the seminar of the Sea of Japan rim suggested to promote dramatization of Zeniya Gohe, a merchant of the Kaga Domain, for NHK *Taiga* Drama, which is an annual year-long historical

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[32] See, for example, Asaka (1989).

[33] These are downtown of Kanazawa City.

fiction TV drama (Asada 1987). The purpose of the seminar is obvious: to consider urban development policy from the viewpoint of the Sea of Japan rim cultural area, which Asaka had long advocated through his study. They found Zeniya Gohe the most appropriate local great man representing interactions in the Sea of Japan rim: he became an extremely rich merchant in the later Edo period by shipping business along the rim of the Sea of Japan, not only with other domains in Japan but also possibly with other countries.

Unfortunately, the dramatization of Zeniya Gohe did not realize. Instead, in 1997, Ishikawa Prefectural government decided to promote the dramatization of the first three generations of Maeda clan from Toshiie, the founder of the domain, for the sake of tourism development. The idea was at first proposed by Taichi Sakaiya, a novelist, who wrote the original story of a *Taiga* Drama broadcasted in 1996. The proposal was a part of a campaign, "Make a National Treasure a Hundred Years Hence"[34] conducted by a local press, Hokkoku Shimbun. After a series of seminar done by business executives, museums curators, and tourism industry, they at first decided to promote the third lord Toshitsune as the main character. Hokkoku Shimbun supported the dramatization project by serials of column that positively re-evaluate the feudal lords, their policies, and cultures they encouraged. They developed the column into a lecture course for the citizens titled "Kanazawa-logy" in 1999. Although the lecture course was totally unconnected with the Kanazawa-logy by Yoshio Tanaka, museum curators and professors in Kanazawa City were invited to the course to give a lecture on the feudal past. KACE also supported the project from 1998, when the then president of Hokkoku Shimbun became the

[34] Make a National Treasure a Hundred Years Hence, Aiming at the Renaissance of Ishikawa. (1994, January 1) Retrieved from https://www.hokkokushimbun.com/database/pc/

chairman of KACE. The Kanazawa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which organizes the Hyakumangoku Festival, decided to add a reproduction of the *daimyo* procession of Toshitsune to the main parade. At this point, industry, academia, and government started to collaborate to re-evaluate the feudal past for the realization of dramatization of the Maeda clan, which would revitalize the prefecture.

According to an interviewee Mr. Tanigawa, who at that time was a curator of a prefectural museum and involved in negotiations with NHK about the dramatization, the first plan also did not go well due to Toshitsune's obscurity outside Ishikawa Prefecture. Mr. Tanigawa unofficially gave an alternative idea to NHK: the dramatization of the founder Toshiie and his wife Matsu. Finally, in 2002, Maeda Toshiie and his wife Matsu's life story was dramatized by NHK titled as "Toshiie and Matsu: The Tale of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* (Toshiie to Matsu: Kaga Hyakumangoku Monogatari)" and broadcasted nationwide. It was just two years and three months after the establishment of the prefectural promotion committee, when NHK made a formal decision to make the *Taiga* Drama in 2000.

The *Taiga* Drama brought enormous profits to the prefecture, and eventually fulfilled the purpose of the industry-academia-government collaboration. On the very day of the decision by NHK, the local press sensationally reported the news. The news was enthusiastic about its probable economic benefit. They expected it would bring numerous tourists to Ishikawa Prefecture promoting the history and culture of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* through the drama. It proved right. The Kanazawa Branch of the Bank of Japan calculated the economic effect of the *Taiga* Drama in Ishikawa Prefecture as seventy-eight billion and six hundred million yen after the end of the all episodes ("A Hundred and Thirty Billion," 2003).

The dramatization of the Maeda clan was a remarkable event for Kanazawa for yielding the industry-academia-government collaboration. Toward the particular purpose, they worked together to re-evaluate the feudal past and to get more attention on the glorious history of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* in order to involve the whole citizens to the movement. The ambiguous evaluation on the feudal past by scholars and even the city officials has seemingly been united owing to the tourism development based on its legacy. *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* is not the past that would prevent the development of the city anymore, but the source of the development.

3.4 Tea Ceremony of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*

Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa was one of the most criticized legacy of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* that would prevent the economic development of the city. The old evil, however, became a culture that represents the wise governance by the Maeda clan and a source of tourism development. This section analyzes the change of the depiction of Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa from the Meiji period to the present.

The Tea Ceremony itself was facing a severe decline in the Meiji period, when its former patrons such as feudal lords and samurai lost their financial power. However, modern tea connoisseurs (*kindai-sukisha*), who were mostly business executives at that time, had already become active in the late Meiji period. Tea connoisseurs in Kanazawa, who purchased great amount of old famous tea utensils in the early Meiji period when its price dramatically declined, contributed much to their behavior of collecting old famous tea utensils (Takahashi 1929: 47–48). Even in such a situation, Tea Ceremony was still an old evil for Kanazawa.

In the severe decline of Kanazawa in the Meiji period, cultural activities popular among merchants and samurai in the Kaga Domain, were sharply criticized as explained in the last section. Especially, the then advisor of Hokkoku Shimbun, Ningetsu Ishibashi made a strong critical remark on the Tea Ceremony prevailed in Kanazawa City in the late Meiji period. He regarded the purpose of Tea Ceremony as mental and spiritual discipline and criticized tea masters in Kanazawa for inclining worldly attitude such as praising utensils without proper knowledge, getting drunk, singing, and dancing at a tea ceremony. Finally, he concluded that "The Tea Ceremony would make the youth fusty, effeminate, and cowardly, and weaken their enterprising spirit." The popularity of the Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa was connected to the backwardness of the city as such.

The re-evaluation of Tea Ceremony by modern tea connoisseurs and scholars advanced since the late Meiji period. *Sadō Zenshū* (The Complete Works of Tea Ceremony), which is the first comprehensive study of Tea Ceremony, was published in 1937. One chapter was devoted to the history of Tea Ceremony in Kaga, along with that of Nara, Osaka, Nagoya, Awa, and Ise, as places where the Tea Ceremony is in great vogue. By stating that, "If I refer to the Tea Ceremony in Kaga Domain, cannot help but starting from Maeda Toshiie," (Miyamoto 1937: 445) the author, Kengo Miyamoto, successively explains episodes of feudal lords of the Kaga Domain related to the Tea Ceremony.

Among the successive lords of the domain, most of the pages were given to the third lord, Maeda Toshitsune. Because, according to the author, he was the most enthusiastic about the Tea Ceremony among other successive feudal lords of Kaga Domain. Miyamoto described tea masters and craftspeople he invited or learned the Tea Ceremony from, who are considered to be significant in the whole history of Tea Ceremony. The author almost skipped the fourth lord, as he died young, then he mentioned to the fifth lord, Tsunanori

quite a little because in the author's opinion, he was much more interested in scholarly studies than the Tea Ceremony. After Tsunanori, the author almost omitted the rest of the lords, as he found nothing to talk about. In addition, there were less focus on the crafts related to the Tea Ceremony. Miyamoto just listed up major crafts such as Kutani ware, Ōhi ware, and some craftspeople who made tea utensils in the feudal era. At last, he gave an excuse for not describing the Tea Ceremony by townspeople in Kaga Domain because of limited space.

He begins talking about the Tea Ceremony of Kaga from the founder of the Domain as a feudal lord who perhaps learned Tea Ceremony from Senno Rikyu, the originator of Tea Ceremony. The Tea Ceremony of the following lords of Kaga Domain is also explained by their relationship with the originators of the existing schools of Tea Ceremony such as Maeda Toshitsune as an employer of Senso Soshitsu of Urasenke School, and as a pupil of Kobori Enshu of Enshu School and Kanamori Sowa of Sowa School. The Tea Ceremony of Kaga from the early to the middle of Edo period was described by the direct relationship between the originators of Tea Ceremony and the feudal lords.

As mentioned above, in Kengo Miyamoto's paper, Maeda Tsunanori was less important in the history of Tea Ceremony of Kaga. But the focus on Tea Ceremony by townspeople, which Miyamoto omitted in his paper, foregrounds Tsunanori as a person who promoted cultural activities in the domain. Tomohiko Harada published "The History of Tea Ceremony by Townspeople" in 1979. His devotion to the study of *Buraku* (discriminated communities) liberation must have led him to study the Tea Ceremony by townspeople after publishing a couple of books on the Tea Ceremony by feudal lords and modern tea connoisseurs. Based on the fact that Tsunanori hired Senso Soshitsu as a

supervisor of the Tea Ceremony and tea utensils of the domain, he considered Senso Soshitsu as a keyperson for the popularity of Tea Ceremony among townspeople in Kaga Domain.

In the recent descriptions of the Tea Ceremony of Kaga, Tsunanori's name always accompanies with Toshiie and Toshitsune. Actually, these three persons are considered to be most significant feudal lords for the development of Kaga Domain, from the perspective of the history of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* explained in the last section. Although there still were negative evaluation on the popularity of the Tea Ceremony in the past concerning it as a result of obscurantist policy by the feudal lord, tourism development integrated such multiple opinions on the feudal past as explained in the last section. Eventually, the "cultural policy" by the Maeda clan became a benefactor of the today's popularity of the Tea Ceremony among the citizens in Kanazawa.

In 2002, a book wholly devoted to Tea Ceremony in the Kaga Domain was published by Tankōsha, which is a publisher established by the second son of the fourteenth head of Urasenke School in order to issue the school's official magazines and texts. The title of the book, "Kaga Maeda Clan, Tea Ceremony of Hyakumangoku: From Toshiie to the Present Day," shows its strong focus on the history of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*. The publishing year of the book indicates that the book takes advantage of the dramatization of Toshiie and Matsu. The book introduces how successive feudal lords and retainers of Kaga Domain enjoyed and contributed to the development of the Tea Ceremony in the domain, and then modern tea connoisseurs lived or were born in Kanazawa City with utensils they used and their tearooms/teahouses. The last chapter seems like a guidebook for tourists that promotes tea-tourism in Kanazawa City. Tea-related museums, gardens, architectures, and restaurants are introduced with practical information in the chapter. The

history of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* and the Tea Ceremony were tightly connected under the influence of *Taiga* drama.

The re-evaluation of Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa fell a little bit behind the re-evaluation of Tea Ceremony itself because of the severe decline of the city. The Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa was accused of hindering the economic development. Yet the popularity of it in Kanazawa did not lose its fame. The history of Tea Ceremony in Kaga Domain was at first explained by the relationship with the mainstream of Tea Ceremony in the beginning of the Showa era. The notion of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* developed in the late Showa era to the present resulted in the description of the Tea Ceremony in the context of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku,* which owes its development to the cultural policy by the Maeda clan.

3.5 *Ōyose* Tea Ceremonies and *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* Context

These days, there are various events under the context of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*, or just borrowing the phrase to emphasize that it takes place in Kanazawa City. *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* has become almost a synonym for Kanazawa City, or Ishikawa Prefecture as a whole. The last section referred to how *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context has affected the evaluation and description of the Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa. This section focuses on major *ōyose* tea ceremonies in Kanazawa City to illustrate how the *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context is mobilized into the current tea activities.

In general, Kanazawa City has a lot of *ōyose* tea ceremonies. The Guide for Tea

Ceremonies in Ishikawa,[35] a pamphlet made by Ishikawa Prefecture listed up sixty-four public tea ceremonies to be held in the prefecture from April 2017 to March 2018. Thirteen of them are held in Kanazawa City, and there must have been more public or *ōyose* tea ceremonies missing in the list. If private tea ceremonies were counted, there would be hundreds of tea ceremonies in the fiscal year.

Among all *ōyose* tea ceremonies in Kanazawa City, the most prestigious one must be the monthly tea ceremony at *Gesshinji*-temple held on the date of death of Sensō Sōshitsu, who is the founder of *Urasenke* School of the Tea Ceremony. The tea ceremony is organized by Kanazawa Art Club, an association of antique dealers in Kanazawa. They invite tea connoisseurs to host the tea ceremony not only in Kanazawa City but from all over Japan. They also select guests by distributing membership to them. The utensils used tend to be highly ranked ones in the hierarchy of tea utensils. In addition, it is better for utensils to have a clear provenance related to Sen family or the school of the Tea Ceremony which the host belongs to. The context of the tea ceremony is obvious: the anniversary of the death of Sensō Sōshitsu, who contributed to the development of the Tea Ceremony not just that of Kanazawa City but the Tea Ceremony itself.

The three biggest *ōyose* tea ceremonies in Kanazawa City focus more on the *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context: The *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony, The *Kenrokuen* Great Tea Gathering, and the *Kaga Umebachi* Tea Ceremony. These *ōyose* tea ceremonies strengthen the bond between the local history and the Tea Ceremony and the bond engenders each tea ceremony. In other words, the *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context became

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[35] About the Pamphlet "The Guide for Tea Ceremonies in Ishikawa." (2017, October 10) Retrieved from http://www.pref.ishikawa.lg.jp/muse/jourei/ishikawa_no_tyakai2018.html

a significant context for the tea ceremonies which constantly generate, and are generated by, a local tea-world. This section explains two *ōyose* from above: The *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony and the *Kaga Umebachi* Tea Ceremony.

3.5.1 The *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony

The *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony is an official associated event of the *Hyakumangoku* Festival, which commemorates the entrance of the founder of Kaga Domain into the Kanazawa Castle. Today, fourteen *shachū* from seven schools of the Tea Ceremony including two schools of *Sencha* (infused green tea). Here I depict how *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context is mobilized in the tea ceremony.

"Voluntary tea connoisseurs started outdoor tea gatherings merely because it was a festival," explained Mr. Kogure, a pupil of a tea connoisseur who started the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony. A tea connoisseur running a Japanese-style restaurant in *Kenrokuen* Garden proposed to hold a tea ceremony with his seven tea connoisseur friends at the sixth *Hyakumangoku* Festival. The tea ceremony took place inside *Kenrokuen* Garden so that it was called the *Kenrokuen* Tea Ceremony at first.

In the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony, the hosts frequently use utensils with *ume* (Japanese apricot) blossom patterns. Although *ume* blooms in early spring, the festival takes place on the first weekend of June these days, and used to be on around fourteenth of June, which is the very day the founder of the Kaga Domain entered the Kanazawa Castle. Therefore, in general sense of the Tea Ceremony, utensils with *ume* blossom

patterns are not suitable for the season. What *ume* blossom patterns on utensils represent in the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony is *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context itself: the Maeda clan, who ruled the area for about three hundred years, used *ume* for their family crest called *Ken-umebachi*.

Indeed, the hosts of the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony perform tea-offering at Oyama Shrine, which enshrines Maeda Toshiie and his wife, in the first day of the event wishing

Figure 7 *Ken-umebachi*

the tea ceremony would go well. The eight tea connoisseurs erected a stone monument to the memory of predecessors of the Tea Ceremony and to the wish for the development of the Tea Ceremony. The monument with an inscription by the wife of the seventeenth head of Maeda clan was unveiled in the presence of her, the Mayor, and the prefectural governor. In a sense, they tried to connect their current tea activities to the history of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* and make it official with the involvement of the municipal government and the descendant of Maeda clan.

The hosts of the Hyakumangoku Tea Ceremony even make brand-new utensils with *ume* blossom patterns. At a thin tea session in the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony in 2015, a tea connoisseur from Urasenke School used a gorgeous tea caddy with an eye-catching *Ken-umebachi* pattern lacquered in gold (*maki-e*[36]). Being asked by the first guest, the host explained the provenance of the tea caddy.

"I asked my *maki-e* master friend to make it on the occasion of a tea ceremony

[36] *Maki-e* is a technique for decorating lacquerware with powdered gold.

associated with "Toshiie and Matsu." I ordered the *maki-e* master to place the family crests of Oda and Toyotomi, whom Maeda Toshiie served as a vassal, together with that of Maeda clan. When I showed the tea caddy to the descendant of Maeda clan, he said, 'I would be decapitated if I present this to Tokugawa in the Edo period,' with a laugh."

He showed his slight regret for drawing *Ken-umebachi* too big and said, "I can use this only at the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony."

The *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context incorporated into the tea ceremony eventually served for its development and legitimacy as an official event of the *Hyakumangoku* festival. The bond between *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context and the event made a killing-tea-caddy suitable only for this particular occasion with full of episodes about Maeda clan that would open a conversation with the guests. Here, the tea ceremony shows the relationship between the glorious past under the reign of Maeda clan and the Tea Ceremony of Kanazawa today, and without this relationship, the tea ceremony would lose its important context to make it a lively event to be experienced by the participants.

3.5.2 The *Kaga Umebachi* Tea Ceremony

The *Umebachi* Tea Ceremony started in 1998 organized by Hokkoku Shimbun. They established this tea ceremony while they were making an effort to promote the dramatization of Maeda clan. The establishment remark says, "we establish 'the *Kaga Umabachi* Tea Ceremony' that touches the quintessence of the Tea Ceremony of Ishikawa, which has been cultivated by the history and tradition of Kaga Domain" ("An announcement: the *Kaga Umebachi* Tea Ceremony to be established in the New Year,"

2001).

The tea ceremony consists of thick tea session, thin tea session, and *tenshin* (lunch). It is held in *ōyose* style by selling a yearly ticket to the guests. The tea ceremony used to be held four times in a year along with the four seasons, and turned to twice annual in 2007. Because of the inclusion of thick tea session, which is more complicated than thin tea session, and the high price of the ticket, it is hard to find beginners there.

Chōzaemon Ōhi the Tenth became the first host of thick tea session of the tea ceremony. He is the successor of *Ōhi* ware established under the advice of the founder of Ura Senke School, who served for Kaga Domain as a supervisor of the Tea Ceremony. *Ōhi* ware is, particularly in Kanazawa, extremely famous and frequently used in tea ceremonies due to its history.

Moreover, the eighteenth head of Maeda clan, Toshihiro Maeda was invited to the tea ceremony. After the tea ceremony, he visited the then president of Hokkoku Shimbun.

> Mr. Maeda, who was invited to *Umebachi* Tea Ceremony to commemorate the virtue of the successive lords of Kaga Domain, expressed his pleasure for the favorable outcome of the tea ceremony deeply moved by the success. The president Tobita explained his prospect that events like *Umebachi* Tea Ceremony to honor the Maeda clan would have a positive effect on the promotion of the dramatization of Maeda clan for *Taiga* Drama. They had a lively conversation about the distinguished services of the lord Toshitsune and the progress of the promotion. (“Visit by the Eighteenth head, Toshihiro Maeda,” 1998)

Expecting the profit, which Taiga Drama would bring in to Kanazawa, Hokkoku Shimbun

tried to use the tea ceremony as an advertisement of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* culture. Toshitsune's name frequently appeared in serials of columns in their newspaper until the broadcast of Toshiie and Matsu was officially determined. Even after the broadcast of the drama, the tea ceremony representing "the rich culture of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*" continued to be held until today.

As the title of the tea ceremony shows, the *Kaga-Umebachi* Tea Ceremony is under the context of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* and aims at honoring Maeda clan who sowed the seeds of the development of Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa. As we saw in the previous sections, the feudal past of Kanazawa has been re-evaluated and propagated by and through the collaborative works among industry, academia, and government. The *Kaga-Umebachi* Tea Ceremony gives a life to the discourse by involving the current tea practitioners, or rather, the successors of the culture developed in the "glorious" feudal past. The participants of the tea ceremony vitalized the re-evaluated past and also became a part of it through their tea activity.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter at first analyzed the construction of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context in the course of development of Kanazawa City and mobilization of it in the Tea Ceremony. The feudal past was once an old evil that prevent the city from economic development in the Meiji period, when the city was facing a severe decline after the big social change. Although the city municipal strategically used the notion of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* as a glorious past for its tourism development, the evaluation on the feudal past had long been ambiguous among industry, academia, and even the municipal.

What enabled all these three to collaborate to re-evaluate the feudal past was the dramatization of Maeda clan, which eventually brought enormous profit to the city. The feudal past is no more an obstacle of the development of the city but has become an essential source of it.

The latter half investigated how the *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context is incorporated in local tea activities as a locally shared convention of it. The notion of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* as a cradle of the rich culture of Kanazawa today affected the way of describing the history of Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa. The Tea Ceremony as a prominent old evil became a legacy of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku*, owing its development and popularity to the feudal past. As a result, major ōyose tea ceremonies in Kanazawa are all based on the *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context, on which hosts select utensils or even make new ones that can serve as a mediator of host-guest communication during a tea ceremony.

As the episode of killing-tea-caddy shows, the *Kaga-Hyakunangoku* context is effective mostly in tea ceremonies in a local setting of Kanazawa. Because the context is broadly shared among citizens of Kanazawa City, host and guests of the *ōyose* tea ceremonies introduced in this chapter can easily communicate via utensils before them based on the context. In that sense, the constructed notion of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* is a kind of local convention of Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa.

4. Multiple Tea-Worlds

4-1 Introduction

Comparing with the idea of "field" by a French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, with his own idea, "world," Howard S. Becker analyzed the difference between them.

> …you might say, the field, limited as it is by rules and practices that keep outsiders out, makes it impossible to be part of some collective activity unless you are chosen by the people who already are part of it. (Becker 2008: 376)

In contrast, his own term "world" is more open-ended. If "(s)omeone is monopolizing the field you want to work in," Becker asserts, "(m)ove somewhere else and start your own field" (Becker 2008: 378). In his sense, cultural production is not a zero-sum game, but anybody can do anything as they like within the cooperative networks. If one cannot accept the set of conventions shared in a world, he/she can develop his/her own world by themselves with their set of conventions to be shared among people who collaborate with them.

In this chapter, I introduce three tea connoisseur/masters, who had developed/have been developing their own tea-worlds. The first one is Mr. Hayashi, who has already acquired a certain position in the world of Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa City. Other two tea masters are actually his pupils: Mr. Tanabe and Ms. Kosaka. But they are trying to be independent from Mr. Hayashi, through their continuous tea activities in order to form a

tea-world, where they can move freely to achieve their tea activities based on their own belief on Tea Ceremony.

4-2 Mr. Hayashi and his Tea-World

The tea connoisseur I met first was Mr. Hayashi, who is a supervisor of a branch of a school and occupies an important position in a society of tea participants in Kanazawa City. Throughout about forty years of his devotion to the Tea Ceremony, he has gradually acquired his position and formed his world of tea, which enable him to achieve a *good* tea ceremony. His world of tea, which I call a tea-world, is not an environment where Mr. Hayashi is just embedded. This is an entanglement of results and also a dynamic of his continuing activities, of his pursuit of the Tea Ceremony.

Mr. Hayashi started practicing Tea Ceremony when he was twenty-six years old. He was already active as a painter and worked as an instructor of it at that time. His family had run a craft studio since the Edo period, which provided services to the *Kaga* Domain. Therefore, he was known as a son of the studio by old families in the city. Because his great grandfather was a locally famous tea connoisseur, veteran tea connoisseurs in the city had recommended him to practice the Tea Ceremony. When he decided to start practicing it, there were no teacher of the school of the Tea Ceremony which his great grandfather practiced (call it X school from here). That is why he invited a teacher from a neighboring prefecture and opened a small class at his house with a few other practitioners. Now he has become a locally acknowledged tea connoisseur, who takes charge of tea ceremonies at many representative *ōyose* tea ceremonies in the city.

His first experience to host an *ōyose* was at the *Kenrokuen* Grand Tea Ceremony in 1991. It used to be the *Hokkoku* Tea Ceremony, which started in 1978 organized by a local press, Hokkoku Shimbun. They explained the uniqueness of the tea ceremony as follows. "(T)he first Hokkoku Tea Ceremony, which has no parallel for enjoying tea with brand-new tea utensils made by local artists/craftsmen…" ("The First Hokkoku Tea Ceremony to be Held Today," 1978). Hokkoku Shimbun had a strong relationship with Japan Kōgei (crafts) Association as the then president of Hokkoku Shimbun became the manager of the Hokuriku branch of the association in 1958 (The Editorial Committee of the Memorial Magazine of Japan Kōgei Association Ishikawa Branch 2000: 44). At the first Hokkoku Tea Ceremony, thirty-five commissioned craftspeople produced seventy-three brand-new tea utensils, and these were sold at a department store after the tea ceremony. The tea ceremony turned into a larger-scale one, the *Kenrokuen* Grand Tea Ceremony, in 1991, when the National Athletic Meet was held in Ishikawa Prefecture, in order to promote cultural aspect of the prefecture to the nation.

At this occasion, Mr. Hayashi was offered to host a tea ceremony there by Hokkoku Shimbun. According to him, when Hokkoku Shimbun asked tea connoisseurs involved in the Hokkoku Tea Ceremony about tea masters who were engaged in a different school of Tea Ceremony from theirs, they remembered Mr. Hayashi's great grandfather who practiced the X school. "They were not sure if there still were active practitioners of the X school. Then they eventually found us holding a small-small class at my house!" said Mr. Hayashi, being asked about how he got involved in the tea ceremony. Therefore, Mr. Hayashi could join the *Kenrokuen* Grand tea ceremony despite that he had started practicing the Tea Ceremony only ten-odd years ago.

Preparing for the Kenrokuen Great Tea Gathering for the national Athletic Meet, tea

connoisseurs in Kanazawa City established The Tea Ceremony Association of Ishikawa in 1990. Mr. Hayashi joined the association as a permanent manager. Though they gathered primarily for the preparation of the tea ceremony, successively made petitions for establishing "a Tea Ceremony hall," where thousands of people can enjoy *ōyose* tea ceremony and also learn about the history of the Tea Ceremony in Ishikawa, in the center of the city to the prefectural government since 1995. Of course, Mr. Hayashi sat at the negotiation table. In a sense, he became a representative of tea connoisseurs in Kanazawa City through participating in the Kenrokuen Great Tea Gathering.

Another remarkable *ōyose* tea ceremony he hosts is the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony associated with the *Hyakumangoku* Festival (see Chapter 3). The *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony was at first hosted by several voluntary tea connoisseurs in Kanazawa City according to a pupil of one of them. It used to be an outdoor tea gathering to celebrate the *Hyakumangoku* Festival, not an official event of the festival. Even the first *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony was almost ignored by local presses.[37] Since then until 1996, the tea ceremony was exclusively hosted by tea connoisseurs from Omotesenke and Ura Senke school, which are most popular school in general, and Sōwa school, to which a proposer of the tea ceremony belonged.

Nevertheless, Mr. Hayashi did not strategize to enter the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony as a host. 1996 was the memorial year to the X school on its anniversary of the death of the founder of the school. The school secretariat offered Mr. Hayashi to organize a tea-offering ceremony in Kanazawa City. He proudly talks about the words he got from the then head of the school, whom he admires even today, at a meeting about

[37] The first appearance of the tea ceremony in a local press was on June fourteenth, 1958. ("As If a Tea Ceremony of Maeda Domain,")

the tea-offering.

> "He already knew that I was a painter, then he said to me 'you should do the Tea Ceremony as a painter.' Thus, I don't need to be conventional (putting extreme focus on *temae* and following *Iemoto*'s taste) but creative for doing the Tea Ceremony."

Then he made a contact with the executive committee of the *Hyakumangoku* Festival to let the then head of the school take charge of a tea-offering, which is an associated ceremony of the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony, at the *Oyama* Shrine. As a result, the executive committee allowed Mr. Hayashi's branch to host a tea ceremony in the *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony and is still in charge. The experience of organizing a tea-offering ceremony let him have a close relationship with the former head of the school, and also be assured of his "philosophy" toward the Tea Ceremony: be creative, do not care too much about *temae* and forms.

He gradually developed his branch of the X school and his position among the local tea-world of Kanazawa by hosting many famous or prestigious tea ceremonies. The relationships cultivated through the continuous tea activities led him to receive an invitation to a tea connoisseur society. It is an exclusive society to enjoy tea ceremonies among selected members, who are all experienced, locally famous tea connoisseurs. The society at first started as a group of pupils of a local tea master in Kanazawa City decades ago. Although they got together to hold a tea ceremony for the tea master, the group eventually became the tea connoisseur society after his death. Since 2001, when he was accepted as a regular member of the society, Mr. Hayashi has constantly been participating the monthly tea ceremony of the society and developed close relationships

with the society members.

He seems to be proud of being an acknowledged male tea connoisseur and frequently differentiate himself from female tea practitioners. His greatest concern is on being "creative" for doing the Tea Ceremony, by which he means the way he selects utensils and composes a theme of a tea ceremony. Explaining how a tea connoisseur should be to his pupils, he always disparages tea practitioners (mostly females) who select utensils following *iemoto*'s taste and care only about *temae*. On the other hand, he does not pay too much attention to the bodily convention. During lesson, he does not teach *temae* and drinking procedure with exactitude. One of my seniors at Mr. Hayashi's class got many corrections on her *temae* in detail after joining another class of the same branch. His interest seems to be not on mastery of the bodily convention but on his position as a tea connoisseur, who does the Tea Ceremony as a leisure pursuit. Such an attitude of his led to a conflict with a female founding member of the branch.

He had long been a supervisor of a branch of the X school since its establishment. Several years ago, the branch was split apart after years of conflict between Mr. Hayashi and Ms. Uchiyama, who is a co-founder of the branch. I asked a number of people about the reason of the split, but it varied depending on each. One reason I heard is that Ms. Uchiyama was displeased by his behavior at major *ōyose* tea ceremonies: despite that Ms. Uchiyama organizes many classes, backstage of *ōyose*, and all other practical matters to manage the branch and *ōyose*, only Mr. Hayashi acts as a leading person and monopolizes the reputation as a tea connoisseur.

There are more stories about the split. One day I visited Mr. Hayashi's office at a university for an interview. As the interview went along, he got more and more excited talking about the relationship between the X school and Kanazawa. He clearly criticized

Ms. Uchiyama's branch for exaggerating the relationship making an unfavorable use of historical facts.

> "There is a tomb of a tea master of the X school (who is no kin to the founder of the X school) hired by Kaga Domain 'as a tea master' in Y temple. Nevertheless, they (Ms. Uchiyama's group) did a terrible thing. Even though the founder of the X school had never come to the domain, they built a stone monument to commemorate relatives of the founder, who were hired by the domain (not as a tea master), in order to emphasize the relationship of the X school and Kanazawa. That's not good."

While Mr. Hayashi had developed a close relationship with the former head of the school, Ms. Uchiyama tried to develop the one with the current head. She made a contact with the current head of the school and established an association to honor the founder's whole family. She even invited the current head to the unveiling ceremony of the monument, and held a tea gathering. Interestingly, Mr. Hayashi does not admire the current head so much and even criticizes sometimes referring to "tea-business" he runs such as selling pricy tea utensils he supervised, which Mr. Hayashi does not appreciate. The difference in the way they developed the relationship with the school also illustrates the conflict between them.

Competing with her (although he does not declare it to the public), Mr. Hayashi launched a tea ceremony years later in order to honor the tea master of the X school officially hired by Kaga Domain at Y temple. He invited a descendant of the tea master honored in the tea ceremony and numerous acknowledged people in Kanazawa City such as famous craftspeople and tea connoisseurs, whom he had become close with through

tea activities and his occupation as a painter. He tried to authenticate his tea activity by propagating the “true” history of the X school in Kanazawa utilizing the relationships, whch he had developed through his pursuit of the Tea Ceremony, with tea connoisseurs and craftspeople, who recognize Mr. Hayashi as a matured tea connoisseur.

His pursuit of Tea Ceremony had never exactly been strategized or destined to be in this way. The more tea activities he practiced, the more his own relational tea-world he developed, where he is recognized as a genuine tea connoisseur and can achieve his tea activity as he likes. Nevertheless, as the mesh of relations that compose of the tea-world became more complicated and dense, it also captured him in the mesh: the serious conflict between Ms. Uchiyama and the split of the branch as a result. But it also means that Ms. Uchiyama tried to yield her own tea-world by splitting up with Mr. Hayashi no longer being able to be a member of his tea-world. The next section introduces another possible split apart, in other words, a birth of another tea-world.

4-3 Another Possible Split Apart: Mr. Tanabe’s Case

Mr. Tanabe is one of Mr. Hayashi’s pupils who joins the monthly study group and an active tea practitioner in Kanazawa City. What active means here is that he constantly hosts tea ceremonies by himself not as a pupil of Mr. Hayashi but as an independent tea master. As same as Mr. Hayashi, he does not make his living just by the Tea Ceremony but works for a company. Although he still serves as an assistant at Mr. Hayashi’s tea ceremony, is now trying to develop his own tea-world through tea-related activities outside of Mr. Hayashi’s tea-world.

Unlike Mr. Hayashi, Mr. Tanabe is not a descendant of a tea connoisseur nor of an old family that inherited numerous tea utensils and antiques from ancestors. He had nobody in his family who does the Tea Ceremony, no treasured utensils in his home, and no relationship with old families and tea connoisseurs in Kanazawa City. Even without any advantages for doing the Tea Ceremony, he achieved to host a tea ceremony featuring a genuine writing of an artist lived in the Edo period, numbers of whose works have become national treasures or important cultural properties, as a part of a huge craft festival held in the city. His continuous tea activities have weaved his own world of tea, and yet are weaving to make it thicker.

Mr. Tanabe started practicing the Tea Ceremony right after his graduation at a university in Kanazawa City, where Mr. Hayashi worked as a professor. He used to attend Mr. Hayashi's class about Japanese art, in which Mr. Hayashi used his tea utensils as teaching materials. Though he did not practice the Tea Ceremony at that time, what triggered his participation into the Tea Ceremony was an experience at an airport in U.S.A. during his transcontinental travels with his friend in the states.

> "I was held up at an airport due to the delay of an airplane. Looking around the lobby, everybody sat directly on the floor waiting for the delayed flight. I decided not to sit on the floor because I AM Japanese [who must be courteous]."

Since then, he "started to wish to be a hundred and twenty percent Japanese," said he. When he was stuck at the airport, his friend, who could speak English while Mr. Tanabe could not, was already on a different flight heading for the next destination. He was completely alone in a "foreign country," without any acquaintances. Borrowing Mr.

Tanabe's words, he caught an "Acute Patriotic Disease" from this experience. Then he joined Mr. Hayashi's branch after he graduated the university. Just a couple of years later, he carried out his first tea ceremony with his juniors at the university through Mr. Hayashi's cooperation. His decision at the airport led him to a long journey to become a tea connoisseur, which meant parallel with becoming "a hundred and twenty percent Japanese" to him.

In spite of his contribution to Mr. Hayashi's tea ceremony as an assistant, in fact, he did not learn *temae* from Mr. Hayashi. When he joined the branch, Mr. Hayashi was just a supervisor, not an instructor of *temae*. Mr. Tanabe joined a class run by Ms. Uchiyama, who established the branch together with Mr. Hayashi. As is mentioned in the last section, eventually the branch was split into two different branches because of a conflict between Mr. Hayashi and Ms. Uchiyama. Although Mr. Tanabe learned *temae* from Ms. Uchiyama, he joined Mr. Hayashi's branch feeling an obligation to him because of the student-professor relationship. As a result, he cannot join Ms. Uchiyama's or her pupil's tea ceremony anymore. "I would be killed by Mr. Hayashi if I participate their tea ceremony," said he half-jokingly.

Another his concrete decision was to hold a tea ceremony by himself constantly. "Because my favorite tea connoisseur says that holding a tea ceremony by myself is the most important thing in his book, I am just honestly following his words." Exactly as stated, he held a tea ceremony every month for nearly two years at a small craft-gallery. As he had made a couple of friends who are artists/craftspeople in the buds at the university, one of them told him that the gallery was looking for a tea master to hold a monthly tea ceremony using craft works made by artists/craftspeople, whom the gallery regularly dealt with.

These two years eventually contributed to his development of a tea-world. At every tea ceremony he hosted at the gallery, he had to feature at least one artist/craftspeople of the gallery. He always visits their workshop in preparation for the tea ceremony to select what utensils to use. A trial piece of tea bowl, which had been made by an independent female potter in Kanazawa City, provided a thread that composes his world of tea. The bowl was not for sale, but he really liked the bowl, which had a small puddle of frosty opalescent glaze in the center of the bottom of the bowl. Thus, he named the bowl as *kasasagi* –magpie, after a famous Japanese poem cited below.

If I see that bridge
That is spanned by flights of magpies
Across the arc of heaven
Made white with a deep-laid frost,
Then the night is almost past.[38]

The magpie eventually spanned a stronger bridge between Mr. Tanabe and the potter. After the tea ceremony, he brought "the magpie" to the potter in order to return her works he used. When he explained the name of the bowl, the potter offered to give the bowl to him saying, "if you liked the bowl that much." The magpie joined his small collection of utensils then. Two years later, the potter requested him as a tea connoisseur to serve matcha tea to the visitors of her personal exhibition in Kanazawa City, and also at a department store in Tokyo, which was his first tea activity outside Ishikawa Prefecture.

[38] A poem by Ōtomo-no Yakamochi in *Shin Kokin Waka-shū*. This English translation is retrieved from http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/hyakunin/noJIS/hyaku6.html

At the exhibition, the potter called Mr. Tanabe "*sensei*" –a tea master, which I had never heard somebody calls him so.

Other threads he spun made his tea-world denser. He acquainted with a man who organizes a study group on Japanese history. The man, Mr. Fujimura, organizes and facilitates a study group for adults to learn about Japanese history in *Asakatsu* (literally, morning activity) style, which uses early morning time before going to work for their learning. He gives lectures about Japanese history picking up one particular topic such as historic person or incident. After participating several sessions at *Asakatsu*, Mr. Tanabe proposed to be another facilitator in the study group to Mr. Fujimura. What he mainly deals with in *Asakatsu* is, of course, the Tea Ceremony.

The more people he met through *Asakatsu*, the more chances he got to hold a tea ceremony. They offer Mr. Tanabe to hold a tea ceremony in a particular setting such as a tea ceremony to promote the beauty of nature in the Noto Peninsula, where the client lives, at an underground concourse of a train station or to celebrate an opening of a guesthouse renovated from an old residence. The clients give a certain context for a tea ceremony every time and Mr. Tanabe managed to mobilize it into his tea ceremony.

In order to do so, not only he asks his craftspeople friends to lend their works to him or even make something new, but also, he collaborates with artists to achieve a tea ceremony along with a given context. A client of a tea ceremony planned to hold it on the day a regional contemporary art event would be held in the same city but far from the venue. Therefore, it came to Mr. Tanabe's mind to hold a sort of contemporary-art-tea-ceremony. Fortunately, he had developed relationships with gallery owners through his tea activities at local gallerie, so that he got acquainted with a male contemporary artist who improvises music and painting at the same time like a performance art.

After discussing his idea about “the essence” of the Tea Ceremony with the artist such as *ichigo-ichie* (literally, the only chance in a life-time), they created a joint performance. Instead of a hanging scroll, they projected the process of the artist’s improvisation onto the wall of the room. When his work completed, he took a picture of the painting with his smartphone and sent it out to all the guests in the room. And then the artist suddenly tore up the painting and burned them at the fireplace, where water to make a bowl of tea in an iron tea kettle was boiling. His work did not exist anymore in material form but the guests smelled the picture burning, and drank a bowl of tea made with the water boiled by the painting. The artist explained to me, “These were our interpretation of one-time-only-ness,” after the performance.

Besides the irregularity of the performance itself, Mr. Tanabe had to deviate from the conventions of the Tea Ceremony along with the situation. He chose thick tea (which is more formal than thin tea) to serve, which gave an authentic flavor to the irregular tea-and-art performance. Because the venue was not a tea room but a living room in an old farm house, he added some casualness with iron tea kettle having a spout and handle, which is normally used for the most casual *temae*. He created a casual thick tea session suitable for the venue and the irregularity of the performance by a mixture of ceremoniousness and casualness. As a result, his thick tea session became somewhat outrageous one from the viewpoint of the conventional Tea Ceremony.

The guests of his tea ceremonies should vary, but the majority is always composed of his acquaintances through *Asakatsu* or people who have already participated in his past tea ceremonies. At the tea ceremony mentioned above, all the guests were his tea-friend or *Asakatsu*-friends who recognize Mr. Tanabe as a promising tea connoisseur. They reacted positively to the tea ceremony and all of them praised the idea of collaboration as

interesting.

On the other hand, the members of the Mr. Hayashi's branch he belongs to have never appeared in his tea ceremony as guests including Mr. Hayashi. Rather, it seems like Mr. Tanabe does not want them to be involved. Despite his regular attendance to the branch's *ōyose* as an assistant or occasional attendance to the study group, he has never informed the members about his tea ceremony except in case he needs some help. He even hinted to me that he was sceptic about "their" Tea Ceremony saying, "most tea practitioners do not think about what the Tea Ceremony is." Moreover, he criticized the situation of the branch managed by Mr. Hayashi as improper condition to acquire the bodily convention. Considering his lack of valuable utensils, his knowledge and the bodily convention certified by his tea-name (a name bestowed upon a tea connoisseur by the school) are the only things that can prove himself as a proper tea connoisseur.

His relationship with Mr. Hayashi went a little worse than before as he gradually became well-known as a tea connoisseur in Kanazawa. One of his *Asakatsu* friends, who also practices the Tea Ceremony of a different school, asked Mr. Tanabe to hold a tea ceremony featuring a genius artist in the Edo period, who produced national treasures of today. The tea ceremony was associated with a large-scale craft festival, where art museums, art galleries, prestigious antique dealers, and famous tea connoisseurs in Kanazawa were involved. Because it was first time for Mr. Tanabe to hold a real *ōyose*, where hundreds of guests would come, by himself, he asked some of the members of the Mr. Hayashi's branch as soon as possible before asking a permission to him. Unluckily for him, Mr. Hayashi had already heard of the tea ceremony from somebody when he visited Mr. Hayashi for the permission. "I had listen to him hours about how much he knows about the artist (implying that he knows more than Mr. Tanabe)," said Mr. Tanabe

with a sigh. Though he at first planned to borrow some antique utensils related to the artist from Mr. Hayashi, the plan did not go well after the trouble with Mr. Hayashi.

Anyway, he carried out the *ōyose* tea ceremony by himself with the help from a couple of branch members including me. There were hundreds of anonymous guests including famous tea masters accompanied by his/her pupils. Their purpose must have been to observe the genuine writing of the artist with their very eyes. In any case, they recognized Mr. Tanabe as a tea master who provided them with the rare opportunity to enjoy a tea ceremony with the artist's real work. After the tea ceremony, the *Asakatsu* friend who offered Mr. Tanabe to hold the tea ceremony commented, "See who were in the tea ceremony as guests? You must have become an acknowledged tea master in the world of Tea Ceremony in Kanazawa!"

Though Mr. Tanabe is still a pupil of Mr. Hayashi and serves as an assistant of his tea ceremonies, now trying to keep a little distance from his branch. Moreover, he even criticizes the situation of his branch, which he thinks far from the essence of Tea Ceremony. Through his continuous tea activities, he is developing his own tea-world, where he is recognized as an independent tea master, and the tea-world enables him to achieve further tea activities.

4-4 Ms. Kosaka's Construction of a Tea World

Ms. Kosaka is also a pupil of Mr. Hayashi. She runs her own tea ceremony class at an old temple since 2017. Though she does not host a tea ceremony as often as Mr. Tanabe does, hosts an annual event inspired by the Tea Ceremony. Her similarity with Mr. Tanabe

is that she does not fully accept Mr. Hayashi's way of the Tea Ceremony anymore. Even though she still serves as an assistant of tea ceremonies he hosts, is now trying to be independent from his branch by forming her own tea-world.

Unlike Mr. Hayashi, she is not so much interested in tea utensils. "He loves utensils very much and that's good for him. But I am not that kind of person," said she. Her interest is, instead, on the spiritual aspect of Tea Ceremony. She started practicing the Tea Ceremony about fifteen years ago when she got married and moved to Kanazawa City. As she "studied" the Tea Ceremony, got interested in spiritual aspect of it. She often refers to Rikyū, whom she admires the most, when she explains the spiritual aspect of Tea Ceremony.

> "What important is the precious time drinking tea from a special tea bowl, not the tea bowl itself. Rikyū said, you should not use old utensils if it does not harmonize with other utensils. You should use a brand-new utensil if it does harmonize with others."

Though she does not clarify the source of information, she confidently talks about "the essence" of Tea Ceremony in her own understanding. Her strongest belief about the essence of Tea Ceremony is the communication through five senses and consideration for others. In order to achieve that by herself, she started a blinded-tea-ceremony, where all the guests put blindfold on while entering a tearoom, eating sweets, waiting for a bowl of tea, and drinking it. She thinks that guests can feel "the true spirit of Rikyū" more without eyesight. Such an opinion stemmed from her experience at *ōyose* tea ceremonies.

"At *Kenrokuen* Great Tea Gathering and *Hyakumangoku* Tea Ceremony, experienced

tea practitioners and even teachers do not voluntarily sit on the upper seats. Such behavior would exclude non-practitioners. Although I learned that the consideration for others is important in the world of Tea Ceremony, they come to *ōyose* in order to feel superior to others."

For her, complicated bodily conventions and utensils requiring a lot of knowledge are the obstacles for non-practitioners to enter and enjoy the Tea Ceremony. Therefore, she thought blindfold can be useful for them to feel the essence of Tea Ceremony without being perplexed by the conventions.

She at first asked all the members of Mr. Hayashi's branch to help her holding the blinded-tea-ceremony. Therefore, the state of *mizuya* kitchen was as almost same as that of Mr. Hayashi's *ōyose* tea ceremony including his presence: same members doing the same role as usual. Moreover, she borrowed many antique utensils having unique shape from Mr. Hayashi.

In fact, Mr. Hayashi was not fully approved of the blinded-tea-ceremony, as he thought it was a mere recreation, not a proper tea ceremony. One day at a monthly study group, Ms. Kosaka asked the participants to help the blinded-tea-ceremony as usual. Then Mr. Hayashi suggested, "I think it is time for you to advance." Though he was not in anger, vented his thought about her tea activity. He and the branch member helped her on that year, but a year later, there were only a couple of members from the branch and the rest were all Ms. Kosaka's friend: tea practitioners from different schools, tea masters who host their own tea ceremony, and even her non-practitioner friends.

Although her relationship with Mr. Hayashi is not as bad as Ms. Uchiyama, who established her own branch, Ms. Kosaka is now trying to keep a little distance from him.

In her car driving me home after a study group we participated, she expressed her doubt on Mr. Hayashi, saying, “Why did he choose *Nambōroku* as a topic?” Usually at the study group, Mr. Hayashi gave lectures on tea utensils. Her remark implied that she had never expected him to talk about Rikyū’s philosophy on Tea Ceremony. Eventually she ceased to come to the study group and opened her own class on the day of the week which the monthly study group falls on without telling it to Mr. Hayashi.

Through her annual blinded-tea-ceremony and tea activities outside Mr. Hayashi’s branch, she had built close relationships with tea practitioners from different schools and found a venue for her own tea class. Her gaze defined Mr. Hayashi as utensil-oriented tea connoisseur, who are almost ignorant about the spiritual aspect of Tea Ceremony, which she adheres the most. For her, Mr. Hayashi must have seemed to deviate the essential convention of Tea Ceremony. She is now developing her own tea-world, no longer be able to share a full set of conventions with Mr. Hayashi.

4-5 Discussion

The three tea practitioners introduced above have kept doing their own tea activities regardless of their background. Mr. Hayashi had an advantage for doing tea from the beginning owing to his ancestors, however, the tea-world he has developed is not an environment preliminarily set where he could merely jump in. The traces of his continuous pursuit of the Tea Ceremony weaved out the relational world of tea, where he can achieve more tea activities there. Although the mesh he weaved sometimes tear off due to his tea activities, such a conflict has simultaneously triggered a generation of

another tea-world.

The cases of Mr. Tanabe and Mr. Kosaka shows the generation of their own tea-world, where people they acquainted recognize them as tea masters and cooperate to achieve their tea activities. Unlike Mr. Hayashi, both of them did not have any advantages for doing Tea Ceremony. Despite that, as they had embodied and studied the conventions of Tea Ceremony, they became able to achieve their own tea activities being independent from Mr. Hayashi. As they had acquired, or developed by themselves, a set of conventions in their own understanding, Mr. Hayashi's tea-world gradually became uncomfortable venue of tea activities for them. Therefore, they are trying to keep a little distance from Mr. Hayashi, in the course of the development of their own tea-worlds.

Considering a tea-world as a result of process of cultural production, and also a venue of it, I examined how tea practitioners form their own tea-world. One's tea-world is a result of continuous activities among the members involved. As they move along, traces of their movements weave out the relational world of Tea Ceremony. The more they develop the relationships, the more they would be able to achieve *good* tea ceremonies. At the same time, their continuous tea activities cause conflicts in a tea-world. However, conflicts and disapproval in a tea-world is not a dead-end of the tea-world but actually triggers a generation of another venue of tea activities. In this sense, pursuing the Tea Ceremony is synonymous with continuous generation of innumerable tea-worlds.

5. Generative Moments in the Enactment of a Tea Ceremony

5.1 Introduction

In the precedent chapters, I have analyzed conventions of Tea Ceremony, construction of context to be mobilized in tea ceremonies, and formations and generations of multiple tea-worlds. This chapter focuses on how all of these are entangled and function together to achieve a collaborative work: enactment of a tea ceremony that eventually develops host's and guests' tea-worlds. I would like to introduce ethnographic examples of the preparation and enactment of tea ceremonies: how a tea connoisseur prepares, hosts, and acts as a guest of a tea ceremony, along with his relationships with others including his pupils, the guests, the host, and the utensils in each occasion.

As we reviewed in the first and second chapters, studies on the tea ceremony have tried to answer the question, "What is tea?" for decades from historical and philosophical points of view. This chapter deliberately converts the viewpoint from such an essential one to a processual one, in order to elucidate the generative moments in the enactment of a tea ceremony. Employing a perspective on the anthropology of art put forth by Alfred Gell, this chapter analyzes a tea connoisseur's enactment of a tea ceremony. Contrary to the former anthropological, symbolic analyses of tea ceremony, an enactment of a tea ceremony is not perfectly prescribed, but temporarily engendered by communication between host and guests through conversation via things (i.e., utensils) as a medium of their agency. Yet, because every single tea ceremony is nonrecurring temporary event, these utensils—indexes in the enactment of a tea ceremony—do not exist forever. Instead, the repetition of the generative moment weaves out the social, relational world of tea.

All examples here concern one particular tea connoisseur, Mr. Hayashi. I remember the first time I visited his office in a college for an interview. In a small room, there were heaps of tea utensils and antiques everywhere. Some were individually stored in wooden boxes on the floor, and others were visible, in a metal bookcase: tea bowls, incense burners, ceramic plates, flower vases, hanging scrolls, and heavy iron teakettles. Since then, I have visited him for private interviews several times, and each time he has shown me some of his possessions and explained about them, telling me where, when, and sometimes by whom they were produced, and also the production methods. He always said, "This is a pretty good one, don't you think so?" after showing me a particular utensil. I could not help agreeing with him, even though I could not understand why the utensils made him so happy.

His devotion to tea utensils motivated me to join his monthly Tea Ceremony study group. Four to six people from the branch meet at his house once per month to learn about tea utensils and study the history of Tea Ceremony from him. The teaching materials are, of course, his possessions. He makes opportunities for the participants to observe, touch, and try explaining about the utensils by themselves. While the study group meetings are learning opportunities for the participants, they also function as Mr. Hayashi's preparation for upcoming tea ceremonies that he will host and sharing and reviewing their tea experiences one another.

In the course of my research, I participated in fifty *ōyose* and *chakai* ceremonies both as an assistant and a guest. Each time I heard informants' evaluation of the tea ceremonies, "It was *good* (*yoi* 良い)/interesting (*tanoshii* 楽しい) tea ceremony" or "It was /boring (tsumaranai つまらない)/incongruous (kimochiwarui 気持ち悪い)." Their evaluation sounded quite subjective and confused me as it seemed that there was no concrete

criterion for it. In fact, when I asked tea practitioners, "what is *good* tea ceremony?" nobody could answer immediately. And then they often replied, "Tea Ceremony varies depending on person (Cha ha hito sorezore 茶は人それぞれ)." If that is true, how do they come to feel *good* during a tea ceremony: how does tea-serving-and-drinking yield such emotional response? This chapter explores the process and dynamics of enactment of tea ceremonies, in which a tea ceremony as an event is generated by various actors and experienced by the participants. From the next section, I would like to depict how conventions, context, and the relationships developed through tea activities work together to achieve a tea ceremony, at first from the host's viewpoint then from the guest's viewpoint.

5.2 Hosting a Tea Ceremony

In order to host any style of tea ceremony, the host needs a set of utensils. Mr. Hayashi spends a lot of time selecting these, sometimes even until the morning of the very day. Here I explain how Mr. Hayashi prepares a tea ceremony as a host.

Mr. Hayashi is a member of a local tea connoisseur society explained in the last chapter, about 12 members of which host a tea ceremony consisting of *usucha* and *kaiseki* once in a month in rotation. Thus, each hosts at least once a year, and participates in eleven tea ceremonies hosted by the other members. They are all male, and all of them are either experienced tea connoisseurs such as tea teachers, tea-related craftsmen, or business executives. If someone ever expresses interest in joining this exclusive club, the existing members will determine if he is suitable for the society. According to Mr. Hayashi, the society has nearly a century of history. The ethnographic account that follows reflects his

preparations for the tea ceremony he was in charge of in 2016.

One evening in early February, I went to Mr. Hayashi's house for the monthly study group meeting. At the time had about one week left to prepare for hosting the tea ceremony. As usual, the meeting started with his monologue. Pointing at a hanging scroll on the wall, he explained the theme of the ceremony. Since the ceremony was to take place a few days after *setsubun* (the eve of the first day of spring on the calendar), he planned to display a painting of *mamemaki* (ceremonial bean scattering for *setsubun*) on the wall of the *tokonoma* alcove. He also said that he would put a heap of soybeans in a square wooden measuring cup (masu) below the painting.

About one hour after the meeting started, Ms. Suzuki arrived. A sub-manager of the branch in her forties, she has more than ten years of tea experience. "Did you bring that one with you?" asked Mr. Hayashi excitedly upon hearing her voice. "Yeah, yeah," she replied, appearing before the group and taking something wrapped in a cloth from her bag. Mr. Hayashi opened the wrapping with a grin; it was a glazed porcelain bowl with a design in red. He had asked her to lend him the bowl for the upcoming tea ceremony.

Actually, it was not a tea bowl. Ms. Suzuki had bought it at an antique shop for around five thousand yen. "I think this is a dish for *mukōzuke*,[39]" she explained. "I bought it because I thought I could just barely use it as a tea bowl." Indeed, the bowl looked a little too shallow for a tea bowl, yet it could scarcely contain one serving of tea. In addition, its rim had three obtuse-angled notches, so the bowl looked like a flower with three petals from above.[40]

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[39] The first dish of a *Kaiseki* meal is called *mukōzuke* because as it is placed on the far side of the serving tray for each guest (*mukō* means the far side or the other side).
[40] This type of bowl is called *wari-zansho*, as it resembles to the shape of broken Japanese peppercorn (*sansho*).

I could not understand why Mr. Hayashi had chosen such a cheap and irregular bowl for such an important tea ceremony, because tea practitioners—in response to my questions about what constitutes a "good" tea bowl—usually say that the rim should be smooth and fairly even. If the rim is rough and uneven, a host will have trouble because the cloth for wiping and purifying the bowl will not slide smoothly, and a guest will also be inconvenienced because it will be hard to find the place to drink from. Although the surface of the bowl was smooth, the shape of the rim seemed likely to confuse guests.

"This bowl is for the fifth guest," said Mr. Hayashi. Since the tea ceremony was for the society members, he already knew the order of the guests. Ms. Suzuki made fun of him by saying that the fifth guest, Mr. Sato, was very much looking forward to the tea ceremony, which she knew because she had a good relationship with him. Then Mr. Hayashi returned, "I will make him say, 'wow!' with this bowl!"

His aim seemed to be to exceed the guests' expectations in order to delight them. Referring to a professional ceramist who was to be the first guest, he said, "Even he will not be able to recognize what the bowl is!" He selected the set of utensils considering the guests—all tea ceremony experts—expecting them to pause during the ceremony to wonder at each item. These pauses induced by things create opportunities for conversation between the host and the guests. Ms. Suzuki has observed many discussions about utensils while serving as Mr. Hayashi's assistant. "I thought this must be the enjoyment of doing tea," she said when I asked her to tell me what a society tea ceremony is like. Mr. Hayashi often speaks of this way of selecting utensils, comparing it to simply conforming to *iemoto*'s style, and says, "We must be creative when doing a tea ceremony."

Two weeks later, I asked Ms. Suzuki how the tea ceremony had gone when I met her at the regular culture center tea class. "Mr. Sato had trouble figuring out where to drink

from," she said with a laugh, "but the green *an'nan* tea bowl got more attention than my bowl." *An'nan*, an old term for Vietnam, refers to a style of pottery in Japanese arts and crafts terminology (although it was originally a general term for pottery made in Vietnam). Due to the poor quality of the pigment, designs drawn on the surface often blur. Though the designs are usually drawn in blue or red and green, the color of the design on Mr. Hayashi's *an'nan* bowl was bright emerald green. Therefore, it captured the professional ceramist's attention. Mr. Hayashi had not mentioned it much at the study group meeting before the tea ceremony, but at the monthly meeting after the ceremony he delightfully reported this episode when I asked how the ceremony had gone—proudly saying that the ceramist had been surprised at the *an'nan* bowl and had offered to write a note of authentication on the box containing it. Then Mr. Hayashi praised the ceramist, saying, "He is indeed a great ceramist, with an expert eye."

What Mr. Hayashi had created was not a sophisticated trap like a net that perfectly catches guests' attention. A tea ceremony, after all, is not a unilateral presentation of an assemblage of symbols by the host. The host's selection of utensils is informed by the factors of occasion, guests, and the available utensils. Yet, the impression of the tea ceremony was not predetermined by his preparation, but temporarily engendered by guests' acceptance of, and reaction to, it. As the example above shows, the host decides the theme of the tea ceremony conventionally according to the season, the date, or to events. Indeed, some utensils represent the theme directly as visual symbols[41]: the hanging scroll and the heap of beans. But what loosely binds all these things is not so much the theme but the host himself. In that tea ceremony, Mr. Hayashi did not use any

[41] See Kato 1994 for a symbolic analysis of tea utensils used in a tea ceremony.

utensils that represented the theme directly other than the painting and the beans. The fact that all items belong to, and were chosen by, him tells the guests that the things before them are there by the host's intention. Without such exposure, for example, the bowl is no more than a second-hand five-thousand yen glazed porcelain bowl with a red design. What the host did before, and the guests did during, the tea ceremony is—using Gell's term—the abduction of agency. In his sense, abduction means inference of social agency from indexical signs: inferring that somebody is setting fire from smoke (Gell 1998: 15). In this case, the bowl becomes an index of the host's agency (which is to entertain the guest) only when the guest's abduction comes across the host's intention at the point of the bowl, as a node, during the tea ceremony—regardless of which utensil the host has put more intention on. The impression of "tea" both to the host and the guests, which they have co-enacted, is the outcome of the function of the bowl induced by this convergence.

5.3 Being a Tea Ceremony Guest

As we saw in the last section, there are times when not everything goes as well as the host expects in a tea ceremony, because the host and the guests co-enact the event. In order for a tea ceremony to be properly enacted, not only the host but also the guests should promptly weave a mesh of intention. This section shows how Mr. Hayashi acts as a guest at a tea ceremony to show his dedication to the enactment, as a guest.

About three months after the tea ceremony mentioned above, Mr. Hayashi and I attended *Kaga-Umebachi* Tea Ceremony (See chapter 3) at an old temple hosted by the professional ceramist and another tea connoisseur. This *Kaga-Umebachi* Tea Ceremony is held twice annually, and is organized by a local newspaper company as one of its

cultural affairs. Participants must buy annual tickets, priced at 25,000 yen, from the company. Although anyone who buys a ticket can participate, because it consists of *koicha*, *usucha*, and *tenshin*, and also because of its cost, beginner participants are rare. As a matter of fact, Mr. Hayashi did not initially intend to participate as a guest, but rather to just drop in and say hello to the ceramist with a gift to show his gratitude for being invited to a tea ceremony by the ceramist a few months earlier. When I asked him to join the tea ceremony with me, he gladly accepted and added, "Well, I might be the first guest if I participate." Although he said "might," he sounded like he was certain that this would be the case—his anticipation stemming from his close relationship with tea connoisseurs in the city and with the newspaper company that sponsors many *ōyose*. Yet this does not mean that he already knew exactly what the tea ceremony would be like.

As soon as we arrived at the venue and entered the main building of the temple—the waiting space—he proceeded to a temporary *tokonoma* made of a platform and partitions and looked down at the platform. On it sat lids of wooden containers for the tea utensils to be used in *koicha* and *usucha*, with inscriptions of their names, and also a set of utensils for preparing ashes and charcoal in a portable stove (*furo*) on which to put an iron teakettle[42]. On the partition, there was a hanging scroll featuring a Japanese-style painting of a pine tree with the sun shining from behind. Mr. Hayashi looked at a list of utensils that we received at the reception and started explaining them to me as if he were teaching me how to be a proper first guest.

"He is using this painting in a tea ceremony for the first time," Mr. Hayashi said with

[42] The set of utensils includes charcoals in a basket, a pair of tongs, an ash scoop, iron or brass rings to lift up and move the iron teakettle, a feather duster, a kettle rest, and an ash box.

confidence. According to him, the painting was of a pine tree in the garden of the ceramist's house. As the ceramist's house is very famous among tea participants, and as it has existed for hundreds of years, other anonymous guests might recognize the scene, he said. Then, however, he added more exclusive information about the painting and the social relations it implied. For example, he knew the artist who made the painting and the relationship between the ceramist and the artist. "He (the ceramist) must have asked him (the artist) to draw his pine tree. I also know the artist well. I had better refer to the painting at the tea ceremony."

Then he compared the list and the lids carefully, and found that a tea bowl to be used for *koicha* was made by a descendant of the feudal lord of the Kaga Domain, which almost perfectly corresponds to contemporary Ishikawa Prefecture, with the help of the ceramist, and that another bowl had been made by a rather famous artist/craftsman friend of the ceramist. "I now have some idea about the theme of today's tea ceremony," said Mr. Hayashi. Then he explained with confidence that the theme would be the historical Kaga Domain and its traditional crafts, which is, in other word Kaga-Hyakumangoku context, indeed, the *Kaga-Umebachi* Tea Ceremony has its basis on, as the ceramist himself is a representative of these. He seemed to have decided what to refer to during the tea ceremony by looking at these lids and the painting, in preparation for possibly becoming the first guest.

Soon thereafter, Mr. Hayashi's hunch proved correct; while we were waiting in the main building of the temple beside a huge Buddhist altar, a newspaper company employee approached Mr. Hayashi and asked him to be the first guest. Although there were about 30 people waiting, the man had walked straight up to Mr. Hayashi without a single glance to either side. Mr. Hayashi gladly accepted the offer. "See what I mean?" he said.

“Nobody here can be the first guest except me.”

A few minutes later, an elderly kimono-clad man appeared and knelt on the floor with his legs folded beneath him. He greeted the guests and announced that the *koicha* was ready. All the guests then followed him to the room. Mr. Hayashi and I were almost at the end of the line, but when he entered the room and sat in the first seat, about five empty seats remained on his right side. Due to the guests’ general hesitation to occupy the upper seats, a young male assistant appeared from the host’s entrance and said, “Would you please move over to the upper seats?” However, nobody moved. At this time, I was still stuck in the entrance, standing. Unable to stand by any longer, Mr. Hayashi urged everyone to move over so that the upper seats would be filled and so that there would be room for us. Finally, the other guests smoothly moved over and I was able to sit in the middle of the line. It seemed like Mr. Hayashi had begun to rule the place before the appearance of the host. Soon, the ceramist appeared, and the *koicha* started.

“Thank you for the other day,” said the host to Mr. Hayashi. He did not elaborate on the meaning of “the other day,” but this short, vague, opening remark made it clear to everybody in the room that the two had a close relationship. They then greeted each other briefly in a casual manner, talking about the weather. “Now,” said the host, “let’s *sutāto* (start).” Because the host had said “start” in Japanese-inflected English, everyone laughed, and the somewhat tense atmosphere of *koicha*, which is generally considered to be more formal than *usucha*, became significantly relaxed. The host then returned to the kitchen, and some assistants brought sweets to the guests. An elderly woman emerged and sat in front of an iron teakettle next to the first guest and began to make thick tea in a perfect silence. After a while, the ceramist reappeared and sat beside the last guest. “Although *koicha* should be carried out in dim light without much talk, please allow me to speak

because I'm such a (talkative) person." This elicited another round of laughter from the guests—the first since the woman had started the *koicha* procedure. After a short interval, Mr. Hayashi again talked about the weather and the chirps of birds from the garden. The two men made jokes about these between each other, and laughter again filled the room.

Seemingly, it was Mr. Hayashi's role to set a topic for conversation. As he had already decided what to say in the waiting space, he referred to the pine tree painting. "Your friend drew the painting in the waiting space, didn't he?" The host responded in the positive, and then Mr. Hayashi switched the topic, saying, "And the tea bowls were also made by your school friends, such as Mr. Kawahara." The host smiled and began to talk about his friend. "He is more like an artist than a flower arrangement expert," said the host, before touching on the eccentricity of the friend's flower arrangements that the host had seen in a museum and at the friend's house. Then the host briefly explained about the hanging scroll and an incense container in the *tokonoma*, and recommended everyone to look more closely at them after the tea ceremony.

The other guests were listening to their conversation while eating sweets. After the host referred to the plates for the sweets, the guests started inspecting them carefully and chatting about the plates in low voices. Their chatting became louder when bowls of *koicha* were served—one per group of three. I was in the middle of the fourth cluster, between two elderly women wearing kimono. The woman sitting on my right sipped the tea first, and then passed the bowl to me saying, "I put it down on the floor because it is big and heavy." She must have been from the Urasenke tea ceremony school, as its rules stipulate handing the tea bowl directly to the next person in the case of *koicha*. Therefore, I did the same to the person on my left side. When we had finished, the woman on my left said, "Don't you think this bowl is his (the ceramist's) work?" I was not sure, but the

glaze looked similar to his iconic works. She passed the bowl to the woman on my right, to let her appreciate the bowl closely. The woman and I gazed at the bowl as experienced tea connoisseurs do. The woman on my left then exclaimed, “This was made by Mr. Kawahara!” She seemed to have heard this from another guest next to her. Upon hearing this, the woman on my right said in admiration, “He is indeed an artist, making such a daring tea bowl!” Her words implied that the bowl was too big and heavy for using as a tea bowl. Yet, she seemed to be content drinking tea from a bowl made by a famous artist. Everybody in the room was touching, examining, and chatting about the tea bowls from which they had drunk, until the host made a closing remark.

In this instance, I was able to participate in the tea ceremony and listen carefully to the conversation between the host and the guest. What enabled their co-enactment of the event were things, people, and conversation, all entangled in a social relationship. We can imagine that, because this tea ceremony was of the *ōyose* type, the host could not predict who would be the guests. This differs from the situation with Mr. Hayashi in his tea ceremony mentioned in the last section; he had known who would attend. Yet, the relationship between the host and Mr. Hayashi dictated that Mr. Hayashi would be the first guest, and this influenced the ways in which everybody perceived the utensils and the tea ceremony itself, and how they recognized these through conversations via things (material items).

What Mr. Hayashi did first was to prepare access to the medium of communication: utensils. At this point, he could not see the material objects themselves, only the lids of the containers and the list of utensils. According to Mr. Hayashi, distributing such a list is rare, except at *ōyose* ceremonies. Because these are the most open tea ceremonies, the first guest is not always a close friend of the host. Therefore, providing a list enables

anonymous guests to obtain a sense of, or at least guess at, the host's intentions beforehand. Also we can imagine that, in such an occasion, the host would not choose anything to please a particular person. Thus, although Mr. Hayashi knew the host very well, he tried to read the social behind the material connecting the host and himself in order for the utensils to serve as the conversation openers during the tea ceremony.

Moreover, he decided what utensils to refer to in advance and switched the topic according to the host's reaction. He wove his mesh of intention in advance, and tried to find the right thread to connect with the host's mesh of intention. Mobilization of his knowledge, and his social relation with the host and the things, could be realized by preparation and by improvisatory practice of communication during the tea ceremony. The convergence of these consequently influenced the cognition of the tea bowl by guests, as shown above. A large and heavy vessel became an eccentric tea bowl made by a great artist. The *ōyose* example foregrounds the way that recognition of things and of a tea ceremony—a good tea bowl and a good tea ceremony—is generated by people, conversation, and material items as a contingent medium of communication.

5.4 "It Was Boring": When Communication Fails

Thus far, I have depicted how a host and guests communicate via things during a tea ceremony, and its successful examples. In both examples when Mr. Hayashi became a host and a guest, tea utensils appeared in front of him accomplished its mediatory role through a host-guest conversation. These lively and vibrant conversations are not totally accidental nor predetermined. They prepare for the *good* of a tea ceremony in advance and well-developed relationships among participants makes it somewhat easier to

generate the experience: because they are in a same tea-world. Therefore, if a host and a guest are aware that they are in different tea-world, even an exquisitely crafted tea utensil cannot mediate their social agency.

Many tea practitioners speak of their love for tea utensils. As Kumakura pointed out, *suki* (sense of favor) is quite a subjective criterion for evaluating tea utensils (Kumakura 2012). But it is what drives tea participants to buy and collect utensils, and to participate in tea ceremonies in order to encounter *good* tea utensils. Nevertheless, even when they find utensils used in a tea ceremony are interesting (*omoshiroi*) or *good*, the tea ceremony can be boring to them.

Ms. Harada (see also Chapter 2), an active female tea practitioner, evaluated a tea ceremony hosted by young craftspeople as incongruous (*kimochi-warui*), while chatting in a small drinking party of several tea practitioner friends which I participated. Though the tea ceremony was hosted by craftspeople with brand-new utensils they made, a person who decided the selection of utensils (*dōgu-gumi*) was their tea teacher. Ms. Harada, having developed relationships with the young craftspeople through her tea activities already and knowing their earlier works, said, "Their utensils were good. I'd say, much better than before." A male participant of the party agreed, who also participated the tea ceremony and buys their works regularly. "But I thought, the teacher's ability to compose a tea ceremony is poor. The combination of utensils was incongruous," said she in an accusing tone and explained the reason, "Everything was 'cool and refreshing' themed utensil," and even said, "It was not a tea ceremony." The teacher might have had no choice but to use such utensils because the tea ceremony was scheduled in summer. Therefore, craftspeople made utensils suitable for the season. Yet, despite that Ms. Harada liked each utensil, the combination—the design of the relationship among utensils—made her

evaluate the tea ceremony per se as not *good*.

In this case, conventions and actors are complexly entangled to engender her tea experience. She frequently holds her own tea ceremony using tea utensils made by the young craftspeople. Building up the relationships with them was a result of her tea activities and also a means of carrying out tea ceremonies for her, because she did not own old and famous utensils that perfectly suit the convention of Tea Ceremony belonging to the upper echelons of the hierarchy of tea utensils as she started practicing Tea Ceremony just a couple of decades ago. She had developed the relationship through repeatedly using their works in her tea activities. What is more, her relationship with her own tea teacher was similar to that of Mr. Tanabe and Ms. Kosaka explained in the last chapter: she left from a group of tea practitioners under her teacher, who, according to her, just worship the authenticated utensils unconditionally. In contrast, the tea teacher who directed the tea ceremony mentioned above is a high-ranked tea master of her same school, occupies significant position in the tea-world of Kanazawa like Mr. Hayashi, and has been engaged in the Tea Ceremony as a family business for generations. In his own tea ceremonies that I participated, utensils made by young craftspeople rarely appeared. Instead, he selected utensils based on the hierarchy of utensils, general conventions, and locally effective *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context. In fact, the utensils made by young craftspeople are often sold *because the tea teacher selected*. This is the very tea-world which Ms. Harada turned her back on: appreciating utensils merely because these are authenticated by authorities.

Thus, in spite of the well-developed relationship between Ms. Harada and utensils—person and things, the relationships between person and person and among things did not mesh with each other as they are in different tea-world, hence their intention could not

come across each other during the tea ceremony.

5.5 Discussion

The aim of this chapter has been to describe the generative moment in the enactment of a tea ceremony. Contrary to the arguments of previous anthropological, symbolic, analyses of tea ceremonies, an enactment of a ceremony is not perfectly prescribed, but rather temporarily engendered by communication between host and guests through conversation via things as a medium of their agency. A tea ceremony is not an accomplishment of a prescribed cosmic model with symbols; it is generated as a consequence of a contingent and transient convergence of meshes of intentions.

What enables successful mutual entertainment in a tea ceremony are conventions, context, and the relationships tea participants developed through their tea activities. In the two examples, these were successfully brought together and they facilitated the temporal and contingent generation of a *good* tea ceremony. The very moment the host's intention comes across the guest's intention at the point of a utensil, "the material 'index' (the visible, physical, 'thing') permits a particular cognitive operation" (Gell 1998:13) for both the host and the guests.

In both examples, the host and guest who were involved in direct conversation via things had already built close relationships through tea-related activities. Mr. Hayashi knew the guests very well as a member of the same community of tea connoisseurs, including the ceramist who hosted the tea ceremony in the second example. Therefore, Mr. Hayashi could select utensils particularly for the guests expecting to catch their attention in order to open a conversation. On the other hand, in the second example, the

ceramist must have had no idea who would be the first guest when selecting utensils. The tea ceremony might have possibly been a mere presentation of utensils by the host and remained a systematic-procedure-of- serving-and-drinking-tea if the first guest had been an anonymous, silent beginner. Thus, I can say that the relationships developed in a tea-world affect the contingent generation of tea utensils and tea.

The category of material items (or, "things") entangled in the mesh of relations in a tea-world is another factor for this generation to be contingent and temporal. In the first example, utensils appeared for the guests as the indexes of the host's intention to surprise and entertain them. At the same time, utensils appeared to the host, when he was selecting them, as the indexes of the guests in a close relationship who are waiting to be surprised and entertained. They can see each other through the utensils only when their intention comes across at the point of a utensil, which is also the point in time when a utensil is recognized as a good utensil.

The conversation between the host and the guest eventually enables the generation of a good tea ceremony. In the first example, the *an'nan* tea bowl functioned as an index of the host's entertainment for the professional ceramist. The authentication of the bowl he offered to put in writing gave momentum to the generation of a future tea ceremony: it had the potential to enrich the conversation between the host and the guests in the event that the bowl appeared as an index again. In the second example, even the recognition of a bowl by other guests not directly involved in the conversation changed when a utensil became an index due to their conversation resulting from the social relationship between the host, the first guest, and the item itself.

Yet, because every single tea ceremony is nonrecurring temporary event, these utensils as indexes generated in the enactment of a tea ceremony do not exist forever. Instead, the

repetition of tea ceremonies weaves out the social, relational world of tea: in this case, the local tea-world of Kanazawa. After a tea ceremony, utensils are returned to their wooden containers and stored in the host's house until he/she intentionally uses them again, allowing them to once more become indexes, this time of another occasion and for other guests. The mesh of intensions will be renewed again and again, every time tea connoisseurs become hosts or guests, and each time they have fun, feel excited, or become disappointed with one another. In order for such activities to be conducted successfully, tea participants mobilize the social relations they develop through tea activities, embodied knowledge and history, and utensils. Even when all these elements are mobilized, the tea-like situation comes to fruition contingently and transiently at each tea ceremony at the convergence of meshes of intentions between the host and the guests.

6 Conclusion

When I interviewed a high-rank tea master, I asked how he thought about contemporary tea activities by his junior practitioner, who had become famous for doing avant-garde tea ceremonies using utensils made by young craftspeople and occasionally collaborating with contemporary artists. The interviewee is a man in middle age, having the highest status in the world of Tea Ceremony besides *iemoto*. As soon as he heard my question, answered with a wry smile.

> "Ah, that might be one way for the Tea Ceremony to survive. However, I do not think such activities would remain a hundred years later. That is like a firework (flashy in a moment, then vanishes away). Rikyū's Tea Ceremony, which has been remaining for hundreds of years, is in its simplest form. That is *wabi*. It remained because of the excellence of the spirituality."

He indirectly criticized his junior's tea activities implying that these are far from "the essence" of the Tea Ceremony, as exactly same as tea connoisseurs and scholars had criticized the status quo of the Tea Ceremony. After investigating the reciprocal relationship between the generation of multiple tea-worlds and tea activities, I would say that each of them is just doing their tea activities in a different tea-world.

Employing art anthropology and art sociology, I analyzed lay practitioners' tea activities from microscopic and macroscopic viewpoints. The chapter 2 explored the conventions of Tea Ceremony. Tea participants gradually acquire and embody the bodily convention through regular lessons, study the knowledge on Tea Ceremony, and try to be

creative for doing their tea activities, which they assume to be the essence of the Tea Ceremony. With this shared set of conventions, tea participants perform, appreciate, evaluate, and criticize the tea activities one another.

The chapter 3 focused more on the field of my research. I investigated the construction of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* context representing the glorious feudal past of Kanazawa City, which used to be an old evil that prevented the city from its economic development. As the past is positively re-evaluated, another old evil of Kanazawa—the Tea Ceremony has also turned to be a living heritage of the feudal past. The locally shared notion of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* was incorporated into major *ōyose* tea ceremonies held in Kanazawa City. The spell of *Kaga-Hyakumangoku* enables participants of the *ōyose* to compose of a theme of the tea ceremony and to communicate via things in front of them illuminated by the legendary episodes about the glorious feudal past during a tea ceremony.

The chapter 4 analyzed how venues of tea activities are formed or being formed. Although I could not fully trace the networks of every possible members of each tea-world, Mr. Hayashi, Mr. Tanabe, and Ms. Kosaka are all diligent tea practitioners who are trying to bring about their tea activities to entertain the guests of tea ceremonies. They often criticize other practitioners who they think deviate from the essence of Tea Ceremony. That is why they try to follow the conventions in their own way in order to realize the Tea Ceremony they believe as essential. Throughout this chapter, I tried to elucidate the multiplicity of tea-worlds. Mr. Tanabe and Ms. Kosaka used to be a loyal member of Mr. Hayashi's tea-world. But as they pursue the Tea Ceremony by themselves through studying and performing a tea ceremony as a mutual entertainment, their found Mr. Hayashi's tea-world inappropriate for their activities. So, what should they do? The answer is simple, go somewhere and do their own business. Therefore, the more tea

practitioners devote themselves into tea activities, the more tea-world multiplies.

The chapter 5 depicted how a tea ceremony is enacted and experienced by the entanglement of conventions, human actors, and non-human actors in a nonrecurring nature through ethnographic examples. What the members of a tea-world cooperate to create is not an artwork in material form but every single experience of tea event. Both host and guest prepare in advance for the cooperative work. The host select utensils that would possibly capture guests' attention considering who there will be, and the guests promptly speculate on how and why the host selected these utensils before entering a tearoom looking at a hanging scroll in a waiting room, lids of containers of utensils, and a list of utensils. Nevertheless, the experience of a tea ceremony differs depending on the mesh of relations where host, guests, and utensils are encapsulated.

The collective creation of each events engenders emotional responses on the tea-serving-and-drinking. Tea activities by contemporary lay tea practitioners are never be static and be merely formalized unlike tea scholars have lamented. Their activities are continuous processes of creation achieved by cooperative work of people who share a set of conventions. They enjoy contingent convergence of their intention based on their years of pursuit of the Tea Ceremony through studying, practicing, and communicating through, Tea Ceremony. Such repetition forms their worlds of tea, and the worlds embrace and empower their successful tea experiences.

Remember the episode in the beginning of this chapter. The tea master seemed to be discontent with his junior's tea activities because of its irregularity. For him, it felt like an extreme deviation from the essence of Tea Ceremony he believes and works along. But I would interpret the situation as follows: there are another tea-world the junior tea master has developed, where he is recognized as a genuine "creative" tea practitioner,

surrounded by and cooperate with, various actors in the tea-world to achieve his own Tea Ceremony that can represent Rikyū's true spirit in his own sense.

Criticism on the contemporary Tea Ceremony will be repeated over and over in the future too. But we know that tea-world is multiple. As long as tea practitioners host and go to tea ceremonies, relations among human and non-human actors would be renewed, disconnected, and connected temporarily and contingently. The repetition of such activities weaves out the mesh of relations—tea-worlds, which is a proof of continuous generation of tea experiences and vice versa.

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